

Richard Williams and Alan Henry

AMON HILL followed his late father into the record book by winning the Formula One drivers' world championship on Sunday.

The 36-year-old Hill secured the title in the most emphatic manner possible, leading the Japanese grand prix in Suzuka from start to season's 16 races, giving him a 19point margin over his Williams-Jacques team-mate Villeneuver and putting an end to four years in which his fortunes have fluctuated between triumph and disaster, with not much in between.

in this season's championship was starting to dwindle, he suffered a further blow to his confidence when | pion and I would have been feeling he learned that his team had en- pretty sick. But I know Jacques is gaged another driver to replace him | going to get another chance. He is next year.

Two weeks ago Hill announced that he would drive in 1997 for the TWR Arrows-Yamaha team, which has yet to win a race but will pay him £5 million for the season.

He went into Sunday's final round knowing he needed only one point for the title while the 25-year-old Vil- | whereas he was coming from beleneuve, in his first season in For- | hind and could take more risks." mula One, needed the 10 victory Hill's candid acknowledgement

points plus Hill's failure to finish in the top six.

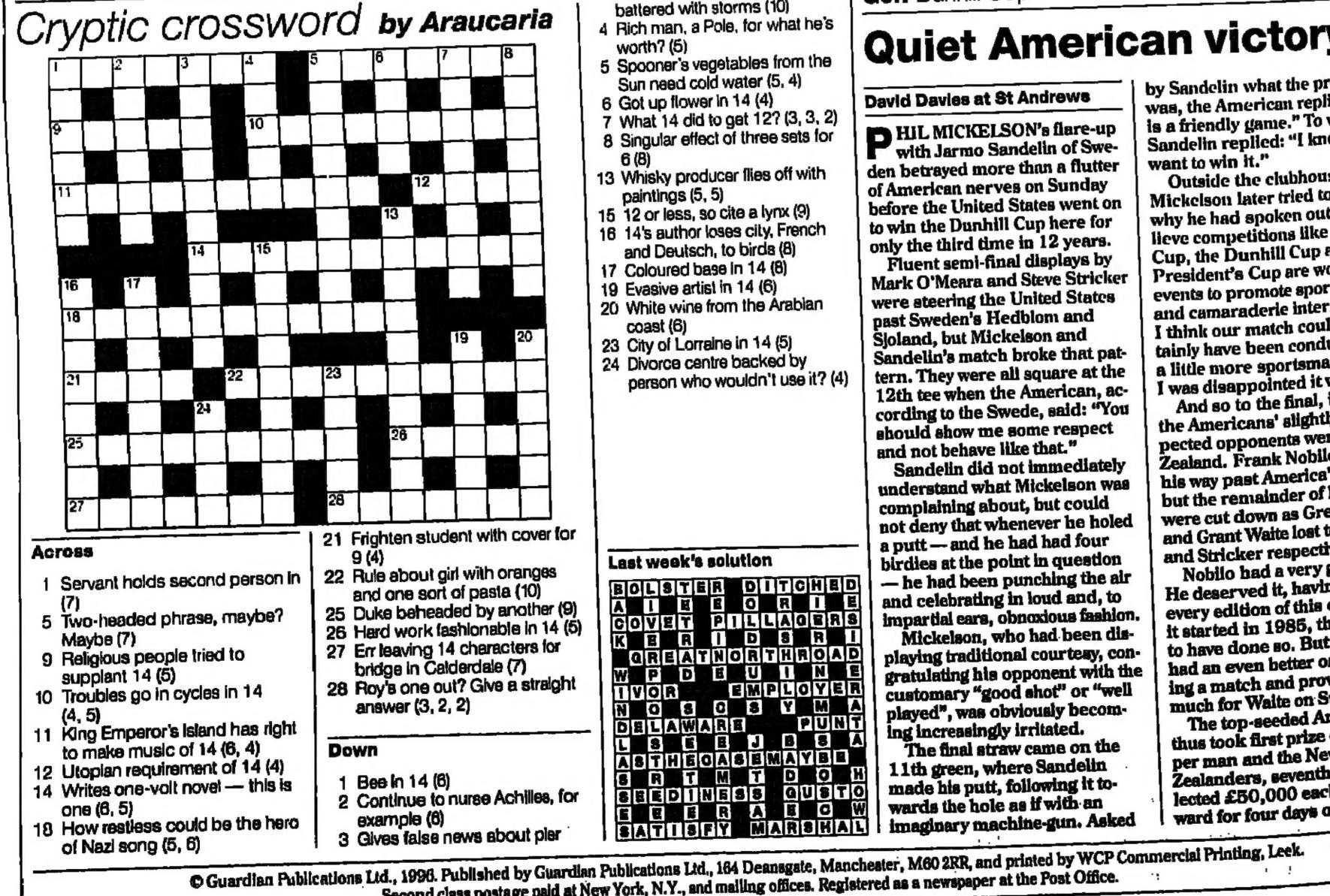
Both men started from the front row of the grid but Hill got away cleanly while Villeneuve spun his wheels and had dropped to sixth by the time they reached the first corncr. The Canadian had clawed his way back to fourth when, towards the end of the race, his right-hand rear wheel and tyre came off.

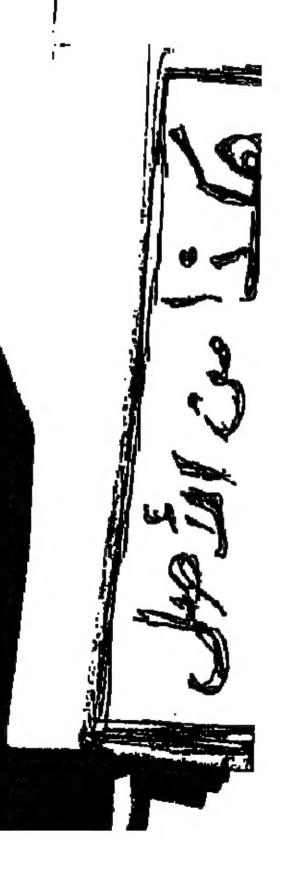
Hill pressed on relentlessly after Villencuve had spun off, determined to depart Williams in style as

"I never took the view that championship was going to be walkover," he said after taking the chequered flag. "Right from the start 1 knew it was going to be close In the preceding two seasons he was beaten to the championship by Michael Schumacher, and only a few weeks ago, just as his big lead

"But it could have gone the other way, Jacques could have been chamstill very young and quick. To be honest, it had to be this year for me and I'm really, really delighted.

"Jacques was a match for me by the end of the season but my motivation was to keep ahead and win the championship. I had the added pressure of having to finish races,





GUARDIAN WEEKLY October 20 1998

at Elstree, Hertfordshire, in 1975 when Damon was 15. His son becomes the eighth British driver to win the title since its inception in 1950. "This is a terrific feeling for me," he said. "It is a tremendous re lief to have finally won it after all the anxieties and the sleepless nights. "I can hardly wait to get back to

children, but it is especially m wife Georgie I would like to thank for this championship. She has been a tremendous strength to me all the time I have been racing in Formula

Now Hill moves to the TWR Arrows in an effort to build a new fu ture from F1's second division. The Brazilian Pedro Diniz, who will be his No 2 there next year, had to leave Sunday's race in his Ligier after only 13 laps.

Hill will take to TWR Arrows an newed self-belief after rediscovering the confidence and edge he had in the season's opening races. Here he produced the goods under maxi inum pressure, casting aside the increasingly erratic form of the previous four races that had enabled Villeneuve to mount his banstorming challenge.

 Jackie Stewart signalled his determination to steer his new Formula One team into the big time by announcing that he had signed Ja Magnussen, the 23-year-old Date who has long been tipped as a ful ture world champion, as his first confirmed driver for 1997.

Stewart, the retired triple world champion who founded Stewart Grand Prix last Christmas with his that it was now or never for him in | race victory - his 21st in 67 starts | son Paul, knows better than nos? pointment of his failure to recruit Damon Hill and has concluded four-year contract with Magnusset

Damon Hill is congratulated by his wife Georgie after clinching the PHOTOGRAPH: JOHN PRYKE world championship title in Japan

championship terms reflects an acceptance that the future will be an uphill struggle and that the F1) baton may have passed to a younger

battered with storms (10)

- to the Williams-Renault team, what makes a top grand prix drive. "but if you don't mind I'll take the He has shrugged aside the disp championship myself".

His father Graham won the championship in 1962 and 1968, but died Hill said he would dedicate the | in a light plane crash near his home | - and told him to stop smoking.

Golf Dunhill Cup

Quiet American victory

David Davies at St Andrews

HIL MICKELSON's flare-up with Jarmo Sandelin of Sweden betrayed more than a flutter of American nerves on Sunday before the United States went on to win the Dunhill Cup here for only the third time in 12 years.

Fluent semi-final displays by Mark O'Meara and Steve Stricker were steering the United States past Sweden's Hedblom and Sjoland, but Mickelson and Sandelin's match broke that pattern. They were all square at the 12th tee when the American, according to the Swede, said: "You should show me some respect and not behave like that."

Sandelin did not immediately understand what Mickelson was complaining about, but could not deny that whenever he holed a putt - and he had had four birdies at the point in question - he had been punching the air and celebrating in loud and, to

impartial cars, obnoxious fashion. Mickelson, who had been displaying traditional courtery, congratulating his opponent with the customary "good shot" or "well played", was obviously becom-ing increasingly irritated.

The final straw came on the 11th green, where Sandelin made his putt, following it towards the hole as if with an

by Sandelin what the problem was, the American replied: "This is a friendly game." To which Sandelin replied: "I know, but! want to win it."

Outside the clubhouse Mickelson later tried to explain why he had spoken out. "] believe competitions like the Ryder Cup, the Dunhill Cup and the President's Cup are wonderful events to promote sportsmanship and camaraderie internationally I think our match could certainly have been conducted with a little more sportsmanship and I was disappointed it was not.

And so to the final, in which the Americans' slightly unexpected opponents were New Zealand, Frank Nobilo slashed his way past America's O'Meara but the remainder of his crew were cut down as Greg Turner and Grant Waite lost to Mickelson and Stricker respectively.

Nobilo had a very good week. He deserved it, having played in every edition of this event since it started in 1985, the only man to have done so. But Stricker had an even better one, not los ing a match and proving far too much for Walte on Sunday.

The top-seeded Americans thus took first prize of £100,000 per man and the New Zealanders, seventh seeds, collected £50,000 each, a good re ward for four days of golf.

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CPSS.

Refugees, Sadako Ogata, said: "A catastrophe greater than the one we knew in 1994 is what worries me | the Rwandan refugees. most. I appeal to the combatants: please spare the refugees and local populations."

more recent arrivals than the Banyamulenge, who can trace their roots in eastern Zaire back several centuries. Mr Kalenda, aged 48, fled Rwanda in 1960. But, after 36 years the Banyamulenge or any other tion began.

EU unites in defiance of US Cuba law

John Palmer in Luxembourg UROPEAN Union companies are to be prohibited from complying with United States legislation with Cuba, Libya or Iran, under an agreement reached this week by from all 15 EU states. EU foreign ministers.

the Helms-Burton law.

The US law, signed by President Clinton but delayed until January, nationals before the 1959 communist revolution.

Vol 155, No 18 Week ending November 3, 1998

and the second **Chaos envelops Central Africa**

Chris McGreal at the Ruzizi border post, Rwanda

waited uncertainly one side of an invisible line that marks the border between Zaire and Rwanda, halfway across a bridge

over the Ruzizi river. His neighbours watched from the hillside behind him. Some were no many who wished they could have them \$40 not to menace us." gone with him,

Behind Mr Kalenda was Bukavu, a city that has given way to looting down on it. Over the weekend, there was fresh mortaring by the Banyaundenge. Zairean Tutsis who have

ated all aid workers from the city as the prospect of a battle loomed, abandoning hundreds of thousands of Rwandan and Burundian Hutu

"People came to our house and told us to go away. They called me a rebel. We were threatened by sol-HEODENNE KALENDA diers who looted everything from our house, and said: 'You'd better leave or we'll kill you,"

Mr Kalenda's house looked down on the bridge across the border, but he feared he might not make even that short distance.

"Some neighbours were kind to doubt pleased with their success in driving the village cobbler from his home. But there must have been frightened of the military so we paid

As Mr Kalenda fled, Bukavu radio was broadcasting a declaration by the provincial governor, Kyembwa and anarchy as Tutsi rebels bear | wa Lumuna: "Do not join the panic under the pretext of recovering the land of their ancestors. The murderrebelled against a campaign of eth- ers want to kill us. We are asking nic cleansing with remarkable suc- you to be vigilant, to find these peoule who have infiltrated among the The United Nations has evacu- refugees," it said every 15 minutes.

It sounded remarkably similar the extremist Hutu messages broadcast during the Rwandan genocide.

In Bukavu, many Tutsis have dis-The UN High Commissioner for | nail-studded clubs patrol the streets. It is not clear if they are Zairean, or

Tutsis have met a similar fate in are moving towards refugee camps. Mr Kalenda and his wife are The largest, Kibumba, emptied after Zairean authorities. fighting nearby.

> human river 25km long from the camp south to Goma," said Panos



Stephen Bates and

threatened last week to pull out of the world." to proceed with united legislation

they are penalised in the US under | it will be able to claim back any | democracy in Cuba," he said. financial penalties through counter-claim in a European court.

The counter-sanctions are inagainst foreign firms that own or op- US government once the presidenfrom US citizens who were Cuban to head off the threat of court battles on both sides of the Atlantic, Sir Leon said: "The Helms-Burton

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR The gene genie takes a place at the table

interest with some Michael Durham's feature chain "Scrambled gene cuisine for dinner" (October 20), the central point of which appears to be that consumers should have the choice to decide if they will purchase genetically engineered food or not. While I do not think anyone can argue with this fundamental tenet of consumerism. I think it is important that this consumer choice be put into its broadest and not most alarmist context.

Conventional plant breeding has for years relied upon the selection of traits conferring desirable characteristics, such as increased yield, via artificial selection in the laboratory and field. Protection of these plants has subsequently relied upon the spraying of compounds mainly discovered by random screening for insecticidal, herbicidal or fungicidal activity.

the ability to isolate DNA coding for particular traits such as herbicide and random pesticide screening). resistance or protection from insect same plant or other organisms) and "scary genetic tinkering . white-coated scientists" but a logical extension of our increased understanding of the genetic processes that underlie beneficial traits in plants and also the weaknesses of the pests that attack them.

Of course the consumer in the developed world must ultimately decide if he or she wants genetically engineered firmer tomatoes, or to eat crons made resistant to insects via the introduction of insecticidal bacterial proteins. However, the

continue to accumulate in the food

growing of large amounts of crops in monocultures by man is "unnatural", we are immediately faced with a series of difficult and progressively multiplying crop protection problems, such as herbicide, fungiclde and insecticide resistance. In There are no clear answers: the key Isn't it time to address the question view of the real advantages generated by the "green revolution" in application to risk assessment. feeding the developing world, these consumer choices may therefore soon only be the luxury of the well- ing. The meeting of genes and envi- money can bring issues to the fore. provided consumer in developed countries.

growing world population (ie, of they might avoid it. To choose, we tally cut off from people less affluent continuously improving agricultural must understand. Let there be no than him? yields to keep pace with population growth) has already been made, and we are really only "choosing" Genetic engineering represents | between options (genetic engineering versus continued plant breeding

Given this commitment to grow- Simon M Hughes, attack (be they from strains of the ing more food to feed more people, once genetically engineered strains to engineer these directly into com- Qike the conventionally derived mercially used varieties. This is not strains before them) begin to have an impact on food production in developing countries, such choices may become the luxury of the wellprovided few.

Richard ffrench-Constant and Kirstic Forbes-Robertson. Madison, Wisconsin, USA

A /HO among your readers does VV not know that agribusiness wants genetically engineered plants to enter the human food chain? And "permanent five", is to draw up a job who has not heard that some choice may be between the latter groups oppose it? Yet even after ria by which the selection of the questions under a senior judge beand consuming conventional pesti- | reading Michael Durham's article, cide residues while these residues | who can say more? For example,

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Think of human gene therapy ronment will permeate our lives as In short, the choice to feed the likely fate of individuals and how mistake: the ethical decisions we millennium will determine whether past advances in molecular biology turn out for good or ill in the next century.

role, as a permanent member of the cording to the number of seats each Security Council, is crucial - al- is contesting. though, with its current European Chris Wray, Union neurosis, it seems to have for- Sydney, Australia gotten this.

A top priority, starting with the description and a list of agreed critethe US brandishing its veto of to enable Neil Hamilton to take ac-Boutros Boutros-Ghali

by articulating the challenges that | legally possible? make the UN indispensable, the Brian P Moss, confidence and skills to develop a | Tamworth, Staffordshire proactive instead of a reactive agenda of action, and the experience and firmness to sort out a demoralised and too frequently introspective bureaucracy. But nothing is more important in

the light of recent history than to regenerate the UN's contribution to conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peace-building. Peacekeeping is not enough. To settle for that alone would be to reflect a counsel of despair. Paul Eavis, **Executive** Director Lord Judd Saferworld, London

I N "Clinton 'to intensify US role in there is no debate in America about | under human assistance? Africa's relative importance"

being a stage for military actions and exercises? However, I suppose the US deserves full marks for this "new effort". Dominic G McDonald, Sydney, Australia

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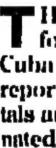
GUARDIAN WEEKLY November 3 1998

ICHARD JEWELL, the a security guard subjected to round-the-clock surveillance on suspicion of bombing the Atlanta Olympics in July, is planning to sue federal investigators after the United States justice department cleared him of involvement in the attack.

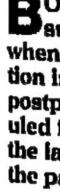
D UTCH police found cocaine worth \$150 million after a container from Venezuela docked at Rotterdam, and in raids at several houses around the Netherlands which followed the discovery. Eight people have been arrested.

HOUSANDS of engineering workers across Germany downed tools in lightning strikes and staged protest marches at the collapse of pay talks and plans to cut sickness benefits.

EBEL Sri Lankan Tamil Tigers said that two of their officials had been shot dead in Paris and blamed the killings on the Colombo government.



A LFRED SANT was sworn Hin as Malta's first Labour prime minister for nine years after electors voted him in, opting to scrap their country's application for membership of the European Union,



who knows the difference between a genetically engineered plant and one obtained by the kind of selective breeding not done since the days of the pharaohs.

Ignorance of the detailed arguments on — not from — either side is widespread. The important issue More importantly, given that the is not to relay the one-line propaknown factors may be important.

London

Playing a role in world politics

Money talks too loud

DETER THURNHAM has joined issue of Tory sleaze/cash for questions, the Prime Minister is charg- the Third World cannot afford acganda of the "progressive" or "Lud- | ing thousands of pounds for people dite" camps, but to impart new to have an exclusive dinner with information to create a wiser public. | him, and James Goldsmith is spend-Crucial to making a sensible deci- ing similar amounts of money as the as whopping 40 per cent a month, desion is how to assess when un- Conservative and Labour parties are spite the nation's worst economic crion funding his Referendum party. is the concept of probability and its of state-funding of political parties?

It has long been known that traffic jam during the day. money can help buy power and inand pre- and post-natal genetic test- | fluence, but it now seems that only Is it right that Goldsmith has had to it becomes possible to predict the spend £20 million to raise one issue? Or has access to politicians been to-

State funding would provide the make, or fail to make, before the people's representatives with the people's money and give everyone equal access to exert political influence. Goldsmith has been able to bring even more publicity to an issue | in 1850, some 25 years before Rilke already established in the minds of was born. many people, whereas the Green Party — thinking of the planet's rather than just Europe's future and the national parties of Wales. Scotland and Ulster have nowhere near the same resources to promote the issue most important to them.

An alternative would be to expose **VOUR EDITORIAL** on UN reform the source of all party funds and (October 27) was timely. Britain's limit the amount parties spend ac-

OWNING Street has refused to L set up an inquiry into cash-forsecretary-general will be made. It is cause this would mean changing disgraceful that this has not hap- the Bill of Rights. Well, it managed nened and that all we have had is to amend legislation rapidly enough tion against the Guardian in the first High among the criteria must be place. How about a bit more nifty the ability to mobilise public opinion footwork to make the inquiry footwork to make the inquiry

Stand by women in Afghanistan

C HAME on the international or-O ganisations that have decided to "respect the local cultures of Afghanistan", thereby justifying and I was puzzled as to why out their continued aid to the repressive Taliban (Aid agencies bite the bullet. October 13).

I doubt the "thousands of women doctors, teachers and other profes- letter addressing him as "Comte sionals" in Kabul now being forced The next time we passed her, beam to stay home consider this com- ing she curtseyed, and upgraded pletely new restriction of their him a notch with "Buon giorne rights a "local culture" issue. As for Duca" Africa' " (October 20) I was very the ludicrous justification given by Barbara de Lapeyrière, amused by the statement by the US | Thomas Gurtner of the Red Cross | Bristol secretary of state, Warren Christo- for its actions: since when has pher: "I will not pretend to you that human rights not been included

If the tables were turned and these I see this as an effort to curry | rules were being applied to men and favour and an excuse to take advan- their sons by a group of so-called relitage of South Africa in matters such | glous women leaders, the internaas setting up a US military base | tional community would be in an there. What relative importance has uproar. If the Taliban are as desper-Africa ever had for the US besides | ate for aid as you report, then what better weapon to force them to reconsider their rules? But then what can you expect from these ald groups that are, after all, dominated by men? Mary Huber, Kanazawa, Japan

Briefly

/ICTOR KEEGAN'S comment re V garding the Internet (October 13) raised several good points. Howthe Liberal Democrats over the ever, it was wrong regarding Latin America. Keegan says that people in cess to the Internet. That is not true in Mexico, where the rate of new subscribers is increasing by as much sis in six decades. In Buenos Aires the number of users has meant the super highway has become a super Michael I Zamba Mexico City, Mexico

> [ENJOYED Richard Jones's direc tion of Das Rheingold at Covent Garden (October 6). However, someone ought to have checked his quotation: Wagner wrote, not to Rilke, but to August Roeckel (his comrade in arms in the Dresden Revolution of 1849) that "loveless ness is the fear of death". This was (Prof) Roy Pateman.

UCLA, Los Angeles, USA

DELIGION, like politics, is the **n** last refuge of the scoundrel. shall be impressed by John Major's virtue only when, ignoring his party's desire to cling to office, he punishes those in his party who deal in deceit. As for New Labour, how would they behave if faced with the temptations of power? (Dr) Dorothy Rowc.

WRITE to give support to wh I might seem like the lone voices of Martin Woollacott and Edward Sai on the plight of the dispossessed Palestinians (October 6).

lews and Palestinians hav shared that land from times in memorial. Now, after witnessing and even tacitly supporting 50 years of land-grabbing and violence, w seem to have nothing to propos than a "Bantustan" with all its obvi ous consequences and connotations Seghir Messamah. Landudno, North Wales

IT WAS reassuring to read the John Hooper piece from Rome (October 20) and to learn that things have not changed. My husband was a journalist in Rome many years ago concierge always addressed him as "Professore". His reply to my quer was that she knew he could read an write. Then one day we received

TheGuardian Weekiy

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GUARDIAN WEEKLY November 3 1996

The Week

Washington Post, page 15

THE United Nations appealed for international help for Cuba after Hurricane Lili was reported to have damaged hospitals and clinics, and contaminated the country's water supply.

AMBIA'S former president and now the main opposition leader, Kenneth Kaunda, said his party would boycott the elections that President Frederick Chiluba has called on November 18.

THE 1996 Nobel peace prize winner, the Roman Catholic bishop of East Timor, Carlos Belo, declined an invitation to meet Germany's Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Jakarta, saying he had "too busy an agenda",

THE QUEEN and the Duke of Edinburgh made a fourday state visit to King Bhumipol of Thailand. She warned of "the threat of drugs, terrorism and organised crime", and urged closer co-operation.

OSNIA'S rehabilitation suffered another setback when the international organisation in charge of its election postponed the local polls scheduled for this month because of the lack of co-operation between the parties involved.

ORWAY'S hugely popular prime minister, Gro Harlem Brundtland, announced she was stepping down after dominating her country's politics for the past 15 years.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS 3 **Doctors cancel Yeltsin's meetings**

David Hearst in Moscow

OCTORS treating President Boris Yeltsin on Monday abruptly cancelled his scheduled meetings for this week, up to a month before he is due to undergo surgery for a heart bypass.

The Kremlin said this would enable him to have a "special regime" of pre-operative tests. But it did not say what the tests were, or set a date for the operation.

Sergel Yastrzhembsky, the president's spokesman, said the doctors had ordered complete rest while Mr Yeltsin undergoes the tests and that his meetings with Viktor Chernomyrdin, the prime minister, would be cancelled.

Successive visitors to Mr Yeltsin's bedside in his sanatorium outside mental agility. These statements helped to persuade a sceptical and feuding political élite that he was still controlling the levers of power.

been cancelled could mean either | rival, that Gen Lebed was mustering | daughter, Tatyana Dyachenko. that the tests are more serious than | an army of 50,000, supported by |

have been admitted, or he is about | 1,500 Chechen rebels. Gen Kulikov | the Federal Security Service that to have his operation, much sooner than expected.

Michael DeBakey, the eminent ahead in the last two weeks of November

Meanwhile the bitter power struggle between Mr Yeltsin's clique of advisers and his ousted se-Lebed took a turn for the worse last week as the interior ministry handed prosecutors documents eral was preparing to seize power.

Gen Lebed has ridiculed these claims, but as a man who has lost his place in the president's adminismentary seat, he has no immunity from prosecution.

The claims centre on allegations by the interior minister, General

power in a "rolling coup".

American cardiologist, was quoted cutors were those placed before an by an Italian newspaper this week as emergency meeting of security saying no complications had been chiefs, headed by Mr Chernofound and the operation would go | myrdin, last week. While confirming that there was truth in the ing a new unit — a fact which Gen prime minister said he doubted curity chief General Alexander whether it was to overthrow the state

In another manifestation of the murky battle for power, Mr Yeltsin which it said proved that the gen- stripped his former bodyguard and confidant. Alexander Korzhakov, of his military rank of general in apparent revenge for revealing that the president was advised by doctors not Moscow have commented on his tration and no longer holds a parlia- to stand for re-election. Mr Korzhakov also claimed that Anatoly Chubals, the president's chief of Yeltsin had fallen under the influence The fact that the meetings have | Anatoly Kulikov, a long-standing | of Mr Chubais and the president's

Afghan village torched by Taliban militia

Jonathan Steele in Sarchesma

COME villages are flattened by Obombs. Others are shelled and rocketed to destruction. Neither fate is as shocking as death by fire. The killers move among the terrified people, torching and burning in full view of their victims.

"Everything is gone," screamed Nazwar, a middle-aged woman, as her teenage daughter stood blankly behind her. "My grain is burning. My house is burning. My life is ourning."

The smell of charred wood hung the air. Several doors in the tal mud-brick walls along the winding village street showed signs of having been kicked in. Blackened roofbeams lay in dust and rubble.

The fighting north of Kabul since the Taliban selzed the Afghan capital last month has killed and wounded scores of civilians. Bombs dropped from a Taliban plane left 20 people, mostly children, dead in the town of Kalakan last week. But no atrocity has been as cold-blooded as the collective punishment that the ultrafundamentalist Taliban militias inflicted on the hamlet of Sarchesma. Only four of its 120 homes are unscathed. Half a dozen lorries piled high with the remains of people's livelihood lurched along the dirt road in the opposite direction as we drove in. Women and children perched on

top, men hung from the sides. It was only on Thursday last week, in a brief lull in the fighting. ple. All begged us to see what was the guns were handed over, the Tal- houses and set them ablaze. left of their homes.

iban soldier fired a rocket from a hill highly likely that Commander Mas- part of his income for the year. above the village shortly before the soud, the main Tajik leader and A younger neighbour, Najmudtroops moved in. Khairuddin brought defence minister in the ousted govthe yell his daughter was wearing ernment, would try to move in,



Villagers flee as forces of the former government, in alliance with the Uzbek militia, fight back against the Taliban PHOTO: SANTIAGOLYON

pened. As people slowly calmed down, the story began to emerge.

The Taliban entered the village iban warned the villagers to report

Le Monde, page 13 | shoes. "I buried them all yesterday," | Next morning the villagers awoke | the edges of charred pages.

he said, half shouting, half weeping. | to find Massoud forces had sneaked In the atmosphere of grief, shock, in during the night. They fired on despair and anger it was hard at the Taliban from the shelter of the first to piece together what had hap- | village. After a day of intermittent exchanges the Massoud forces

crowd of wailing and hysterical peo- them to hand in their weapons. When cally they poured petrol on the struck back last month.

Nizamuddin, a farmer, showed The most desperate was Khalrud- any sign of Ahmed Shah Massoud's the pile of scarred and blackened din, a man of 55. He lost his daughter forces trying to infiltrate Sarchesma. grain in his storehouse. Recently and all three grandsons when a Tal- The villagers are Tajiks, and it was harvested, it represented a large

din, produced a metal bowl containing a pile of ash. "This is the Koran." when she died. He held up the blood- The Taliban returned to their he exclaimed, his volce rising with stained garment and a pair of plastic | base on a hill outside Sarchesma. | outrage. One could just make out

Mr Chernomyrdin told leaders of in three months.

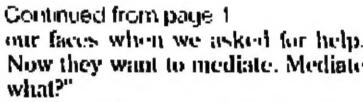
said Gen Lebed intended to seize certain people were striving "to use the process of democratic reforms The documents handed to prose- in the country to create extremist, militarised, terrorist and other formations". They posed a direct threat to state security.

The prime minister did not mention Gen Lebed by name. All attempts allegation that Gen Lebed was form- to stop the mutual mud-slinging have failed, and if the prosecutor Lebed himself does not deny - the general, the government's main law officer, formally investigates Gen Lebed, more incriminating counteraccusations against Mr Chubais are certain to follow.

This might force the ruling elite to gather around the prime minister and form a coalition with the Communists, who control the Duma The aim would be to oust Mr Chubais

Mr Korzhakov, who has backed Gen Lebed's attempt to become the pext president, has said he supports staff, has usurped power. He said Mr | the full transfer of presidential powers to the prime minister, who is constitutionally the president's stand-in, to be followed by elections

Chaos in east Zaire



The roots of the Banyamulenge rebellion lie not just in the fate of Tutsis during the Rwandan genocide, but also the mass slaughter of other Tutsis in Zaire over the past two years. Several hundred miles to the north of the Uvira area, the Banyarwanda were an early target for pogroms. Two years of attacks by Hutu militias drove 150,000 Banyarwanda from their homes; 15,000 people were killed.

Rwanda warned of another genocide in the making and appealed for international intervention, but the UN in the refugee camps looked the other way, on the grounds that the Banyarwanda were Zairean citizens --- even though one reason they were being murdered was because Zaire said it had stripped them of their citizenship. Only now is the UN facing up to what occurred.

In a report on the killings in Masisi, issued last month, it accused the Interahamwe of conniving with Zairean troops to murder and expel Tutsis and blames the Zairean gov ernment, especially the "political class which has fomented xenophobic nationalist sentiment". Even some Zairean human rights groups are said to have "fostered racial hatred and ethnic cleansing rather than defending the oppressed".

For the Banyamulenge, the crunch came when South Kivu's deputy governor, Lwasi Ngabo Lwa-Retribution soon followed. Be- banji, gave them a week to get out of that outsiders could reach the vil- last weekend, summoned everyone tween 20 and 30 Taliban entered the Zaire. Only too aware of the fate of lage. Our car quickly attracted a to the central square, and ordered village the next morning. Systemati- the Banyar wanda in Masisi, they

There is a clear attempt to empty the refugee camps, which suits both Rwanda and Burundi. Some believe Rwanda may be attempting to carve out a buffer zone. But there's also no doubt that for many of the fighters the battle is about something closer to home — their own land. A BBC journalist, Martin Dawes was beaten and robbed at gunpoint by soldiers from the Zairean army in Bukavu at the weekend.

and the second second

4 INTERNATIONAL NEWS Israeli war games belie peace talk

Shyam Bhatla in Jerusalem

AIOR-GENERAL Dayan watched as Israeli W troops participated in a mock battle last week to recapture the Patestinian city of Nablus. Gen Dayan, a nephew of Israel's war hero, the late Mostle Dayan, is military commander of the West Bank.

Tanks and helicopters used live anumition as paratroopers stormed a cardboard replica of the Nablus kasbah and hung the Star of David of Israel's right wing. Like Rabin, he from its ramparts. Israeli soldiers disguised as Palestinian policemen | ing to give the Palestinians control fought back unsuccessfully as the over more parts of the West Bank. If army, spearheaded by élite com- and when Mr Netanyahu hands mando units, tightened its grip on over the West Bank city of Hebron the city.

Gen Dayan, using the factics de- wind of the right's pent-up anger. ployed by his illustrious uncle in the 1967 Middle East war, needed only | committed himself to the principle a few hours to complete a mission of Israel's military withdrawal from that took Moshe Dayan six days to the city, where 400 Jewish ideoaccomplish. The war fever that logues live among more than grips Israel's military top brass 100,000 Arabs. As the countdown today has a chilling similarity to the for the withdrawal gets under way, mood that prevailed at the outbreak | Israelis are once again talking about of the 1967 hostilities.

cluding Gen Davan, admit to a sense prevent Mr Arafat's "uniformed DEELING from his worst election of personal humiliation following the | thugs" from entering the city. bloody confrontations with the Palestinians in September. The 1srachis lost 15 soldiers in the clashes | in central Jerusalem to hold a rally | survival with Yasser Arafat's police force.

cises to recapture Nablus and other | Mattar, said: "Hebron is a test. If | on Mr Vranitzky to resign. But he Palestinian cities were authorised by they pull out, we will all protest and has announced he will stand again the Israeli prime minister, Binyamin Netanyahu, who is under pressure from his rightwing supporters to Netanyahu has been told the army Man Walking" is what the Vienna teach the Palestinians a lesson by needs 3.5 billion shekels (\$2.5 bil- news magazine Profil called him ing openly about a coalition governreneging on the Oslo peace accords. | lion) because of an increased | this week.

tanyahu shares his constituency's day the defence minister, Yitzhak Freedom Party of Jörg Haider distaste for Oslo, which he believes Mordechai, told a parliamentary triumphed in elections to the have shadowed one another. They necessarily reflect what would have will lead to the partition of the "land committee Israeli forces planned a European Parliament and the have shown a mutual loathing. In pen at a general election, Mr Haider of Israel" and the creation of an in- big Syrian military exercise and provincial assembly of Vienna. On 1986, the year Mr Haider took over is clearly still soaring while the dependent Palestinian state. He were "taking the necessary steps the political fringe five years ago, the Freedom Party, Mr Vranitzky chancellor slumps. sees himself as a prisoner of unac- | for maximum alertness". ceptable agreements and under- | • The Israeli-PLO peace talks went | the social democrats in the Euro- | solved the coalition with the Free- | Comment, page 12 standings negotiated by his Labour | into suspended animation on Monpredecessor, Yitzhak Rabin.

"Its not an easy situation," says a source in the prime minister's of- | way and Ireland, and the United fice. "Anything that's good for the Palestinians is bad for Israel and anything that's good for Israel is bad for the Palestinians. It's not clear to Tuesday in the small West Bank us how we can escape from this trap."

Many of Mr Netanyahu's supporters say war is the only solution. Some pray that the Palestinians will initiate hostilities and provide the Is- for about an hour with some Palesracti army with an excuse to retaljate and drive the final nail into the Oslo coffin. They are critical of the Comment, page 12

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prime minister for not seizing the strategic opportunity that was presented to him during last month's mini-intifada

"Netanyahu voters expected him to end or at least suspend the policy of pullbacks," said Yisrael Harel, one of the leaders of 150,000 Jewish settlers in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. "But instead he rushed off to meet Arafat in Washington." Disappointment with Mr Netan-

yahu is shared across the spectrum is being branded a traitor for agreeto Mr Arafat, he will reap the whir

The prime minister has already the "writing on the wall". Jewish fa- Ian Traynor In Vienna In private some army generals, in- | natics have threatened violence to

On Tuesday thousands of Netanyahu supporters were due to meet Vranitzky, is fighting for his political against his intention to compromise Last week's secret military exer- on Hebron. One organiser, Nadia demonstrate."

It is an open secret that Mr Ne- | chance of war with Syria. On Mon-

day as the Palestinian president, States mediator Dennis Ross returned to Washington.

Meanwhile clashes broke out on town of Hussan following the funeral of a Palestinian boy alleged to have been beaten to death by a Jewish settler. The disturbances lasted tinians receiving minor injuries.

Palestinians fête Chirac

ERANCE'S president, Jacques | He praised Yasser Arafat, talked | power, and, for the second day come by the Palestinians last week | condemaed Jewish colonisation of | them in the capital and the adwhen he became the first foreign the West Bank, and implicitly joining city of Rawalpindi. Their leader to address their parliament, backed the Palestinians' claims to at leader, Hussein Ahmed, was following the tribulations and indignities of his two days in Israel, writes Derck Brown in Jerusalem.

In contrast with the ill-tempered brawl with Israeli scenity men in the message to the Palestinians that Jerusalem's Old City, Mr Chirac | there should be no more violence. was greeted by cheering crowds in | He kept his word. the West Bank city of Ramallah.

The French leader has become an instant hero to the Palestinians be- of "the freedom and human rights cause of his stirring advice of the you were for so long denied". previous day to his tormentors: "This is a provocation. Stop this now."

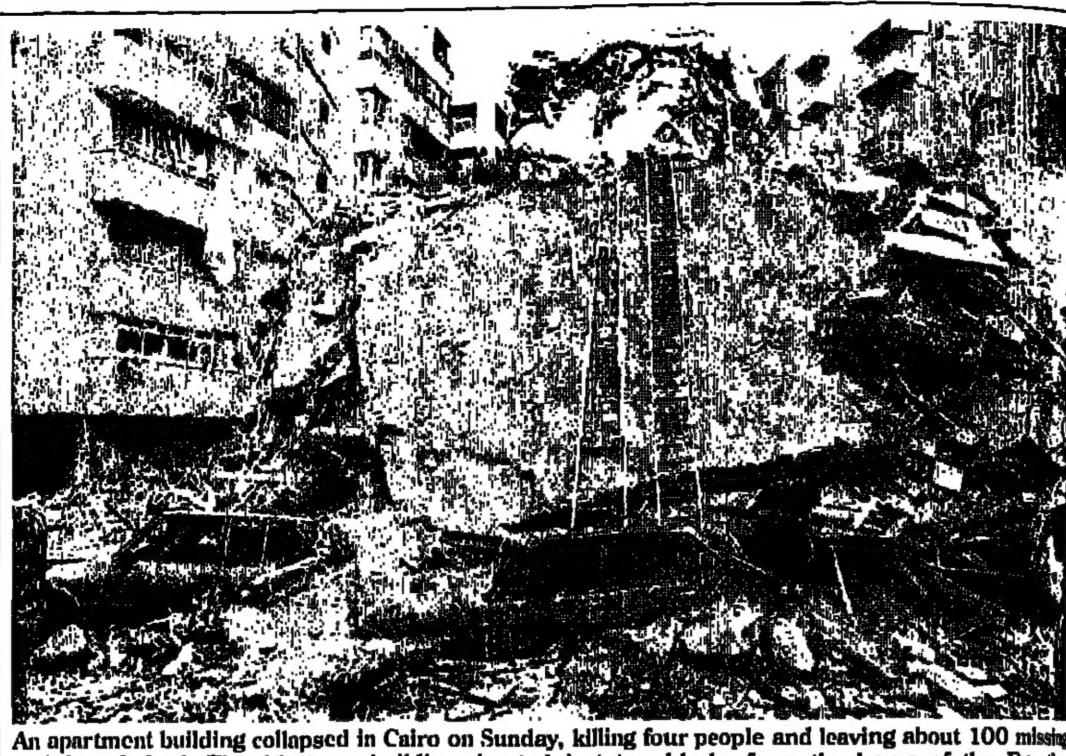
Chirac, was given a hero's wel- of the building of a Palestinian state, running, riot police fought with least a share of Jerusalem.

Earlier, as he took his leave of Israel's president, Ezer Weizman, Mr Chirac had promised to convey | meeting lasted about half an

In addressing the Palestinian Council Mr Chirac pointedly spoke

Le Monde, page 13

BUARDIAN WEEKLY November 3 1904



and feared dead. The 11-storey building, located just two blocks from the home of the Egyptar president, Hosni Mubarak, caved in on its residents in the suburb of Heliopolis. By Monday evening rescue workers had pulled more than 20 survivors from the rubble PHOTOGRAPH: MONA SHAFE

Austrian leader defies pressure to quit

results in 10 years in power, Austria's centrist chancellor, Franz

tic party (SPO) is putting pressure for the party leadership next year.

To add to his problems, Mr | He may not last that long. "Dead |

Last month the extreme-right Vranitzky goes.

poll and wiped out their majority in | dom Party to dissociate limet

As if to magnify his discomfort, Mr Vranitzky told Profil: "The situation is very complicated. We can only interpret the answer given by the voters on October 13 as the an-Frustration in his social democra- | swer to the question posed on October 13 and not as the answer to the question not put on October 13. This is not denial of reality."

Such elliptical conundrums contrast with the cheeky soundbites of Christian Democratic People Mr Haider, who is already speculatment with the SPO after Mr

Mr Haider won 2 per cent less than | became chancellor. He instantly dis-

from Mr Haider. The standolf has continued ever since.

Given a system of proportions representation which makes adtion government the rule, Mr Viziitzky's aversion to the far right is now tantamount to discufranchis; almost a third of the electorate.

The social democrats, long und to monopoly rule in Vienua, are ce bling together a coalition with the Party. It is already being described as "the losers' coalition".

Although the European election: put the social democrats ahead @ The two men's political careers Mr Haider and the ballot does not

Yasser Arafat, left for talks in Nor-way and Ireland, and the United Protests grow against Bhutto's government

Suzanne Goldenberg In Islamabad

HREE leaders of the religious opposition party Jamaat-i-Islami were picked up in a police sweep on Monday as the Pakistani authorities tried to stop protests against Benazir Bhutto's government.

Nearly 4,000 followers of the Islamist party prayed in front of parliament in a dramatic show of detained for several hours before being released.

The extraordinary prayer hour before police doused the protesters with hundreds of rounds of tear gas.

Mass rallies are banned in Islamabad, and the events showed the ability of Jamaat. which has just three seats in parliament, to get its supporters, mainly students, on to the

streets. They also paralysed much of Islamabad as police chased demonstrators down city streets.

The show of strength could also serve to mobilise the main opposition parties against Ms Bhutto, who is coming under increasingly fierce attack for alleged corruption and financial mismanagement.

The government meanwhile announced that Ms Bhutto had given up the finance portfolio. Her privatisation minister, Syed Navecd Qamar, is to be given the post.

The International Monetary Fund is delaying disbursement of a £400 million standby loan because of Pakistan's repeated failures to meet agreed targets. A team of former Scotland Yard detectives and forensic experts has been called in by Ms Bhutto to investigate the killing in September of her brother Murtaza. The team has been hired by the Sindh provincial government under a six-figure contract.

EU presses Bogotá on BP

David Harrison and Mellssa Jones

THE Colombian government faces growing pressure to launch a judicial inquiry into allega tions that BP is causing grave environmental damage and colla-borating with the Colombian miltary, which has committed serious

abuses of human rights. The furore follows the disclosure last week of an unpublished Colombian government report accusing BP of collaboration with soldiers volved in beatings, torture and murder in the north-eastern Casanare region

The European Parliament urged Colombia's President Erneslo Samper to publish the report and voted over whelmingly to call on BP and other oil companies to "observe the highest respect for human rights and environmental protection tion".

Richard Howitt, a British Labour MEP - who tabled the resolution — accused BP of trying to cover up its activities, saying: "It's time for BP to come clean." - The Observer

mare in which they now live. The system Lukanov engineered was neither communism nor capitalism but a mutant hybrid combining the worst of both. It allowed the nomenklatura to acquire wealth unshackled by the ideological and legal limits of the old regime and unchecked by normal competition. It was brutally simple. Until

Lukanov's spell as prime minister positions in state banks and indusaccounts. Privatisation, which might

ended in November 1990, his friends and associates took up key tries and - under the guise of reform - diverted resources into dozens of new trading companies, banks and brokerage houses, which dominated the commodity and currency markets, transferring much of their profits to foreign bank have created genuine competition, was continually delayed. The sudden concentration of

wealth gave Sofia a certain candied gloss. The city streets are now lined with brightly lit shops offering luxury products, But they reflect

From communist gold to 'illustrious corpse'

A former PM died in a deadly struggle between mafia gangs, writes Julian Borger in Sofia

NDREI LUKANOV saw himself as a man for the nineties. When the old regime collapsed at the start of the decade, he transformed Communist Party rank into post-communist gold by arranging for state enterprises to fall into the laps of his comrades in the nomenklatura. It was a feat of alchemy that made him one of the most influential men in the country. He was a wily grey fox - and he believed he was untouchable.

On October 2 he was proved wrong. Lukanov was on his way to work when he realised that he had forgotten some documents at home. He walked back to his front door and called his wife on the intercom. They were the last words he ever

An assassin shot him four times, suburbs. Neighbours later said they had seen the murderer in the days before the killing, hanging around in the street disguised as a beggar. The murder remains unsolved.

The shock resounds through the city's pot-holed streets. This was the man who had engineered Bulgaria's bloodless transition from communism, persuading the old dictator, Todor Zhivkov, to step down without a fight.

Lukanov, who died aged 58, had rubbed shoulders with Mikhail Gorbachev, the last president of the Soviet Union. He had been close friends with Robert Maxwell at a time when Bulgarians thought the British magnate would help transform their country. Now he has become eastern Europe's most "illustrious corpse"

People travelled across the country and queued for hours to see his body lie in state in the old Communist Party headquarters. Tearful old men gave clenched-fist salutes over the open coffin.

Lukanov would have smiled at the irony of it all. He helped to destroy the secure, stagnant world his mourners were so nostalgic for, replacing it with the economic night-

not the creation of wealth but money on its way out of the country. This summer the banks — looted by their own managers - began to collapse. Nine are currently facing liquidation.

The system that Lukanov engi-neered drained the life-blood from the economy and, in one way or another, it consumed its own creator.

It was inevitable that Lukanov's power would come under challenge. The pro-reform Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) tried to break up the cartels during a year-long spell in office in 1992, but it was an uneven struggle. Communist apparatchiks still controlled the machinery of government.

The real threat to Lukanov came from within his Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP). Elections in December 1994 brought to office a new generation of former communists around Zhan Videnov, aged 37, the outgoing prime minister, who had built a power base in the party's youth movement, Komsomol.

suddenly making their presence felt were among his closest colleagues. on the Bulgarian market. Editor Philip Harmandjiev said: "Quite by increasing room for manoenvre



Lukanov as prime minister with his daughter Amy PHOTO, KLAUS RELOINGER

he told us all these companies were | tem of patronage and control, and named after stars in the Orion constellation, such as Mintaka, Hatisa and Betelgeuse. So we started looking up companies named after other

Orion's backing gave Mr Videnov

when Orion bought Duma, the party paper, it was a stunning blow to Lukanov and his entourage.

In a final coup in July, Mr Vide-Orion stars and found they were all nov removed Lukanov from his Soon after, journalists at the Kapi- connected." The "Orion Group" was prized position of chairman of and then disappeared into the Sofia tal financial newspaper noticed a closely linked to the prime minister. Topenergy, a joint venture with cluster of new trading companies | managers of its member companies | Moscow to build a \$300 million gas pipeline from Russia to the Balkans. Lukanov was furious.

Lukanov decided to get even and accident an astrologer who was in within the BSP, and independence let it be known he was using his sethe office overheard us talking, and 1 from Lakanov. He built his own sys- cret police contacts to compile dam-

Socialist setback in presidential polls

Elisaveta Konstantinova in Sofia

DULGARIA'S ruling ex-Communists suffered the worst defeat in their history in presidential polls last weekend losing a million votes from an electorate weary of economic crisis, preliminary results showed on Monday.

With almost all results

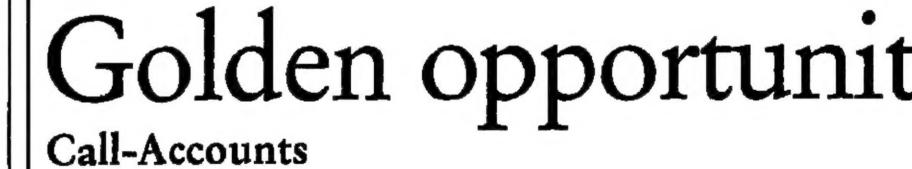
counted, the opposition candi-

date Petar Stoyanov had a clear | Bulgaria close to Nato and the lead but was short of a first round majority. A second round will be held this Sunday.

Mr Stoyanov led with 44.9 per cent of the vote, according to the electoral commission, with his Socialist rival, Ivan Marazov, trailing second with 26.9 per cent.

Mr Stoyanov, a 44-year-old lawyer, said that if elected he would work towards bringing European Union.

mentary election. Prime minister Zhan Videnov's government has a secure majority in parliament, where real power lies. But analysts expect the result to widen splits within the Socialists and increase pressure for an early general election. — Reuter



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FOCUS ON BULGARIA 5



The 62 per cent turnout was much lower than the 75 per cent recorded for the 1994 parlia-

aging files on Orion. The day before he was killed he visited his friend Andrey Raichev, head of the Bulgarian branch of Gallup. Mr Raichev says: "He told me, 'Everything is finished. They are through'." According to his friend, Lukanov had confronted Mr Videnov with the files and had forced him to agree to step down on October 12.

But whether or not Lukanov's killing was directly linked to the BSP power struggle, the files point to a network of corruption close to the heart of the government and lay bare the workings of Bulgaria's sick economy

One of the documents is an interrogation on July 24, 1995, by the interior ministry's Centre for Combating Organised Crime of a businessman called Pavel Treney a money-raiser for Orion and its boss, Rumen Spasov, Mr Trenev gave details of how millions of dollars were channelled out of staterun financial institutions into Orion companies in 1994 and 1995, in just the same way as Lukanov had built his own empire. He also explained how hundreds of thousands of dollars flowed from Orion to the BSP newspapers Duma and Novini and to the party election campaign fund

Mr Treney has since disappeared, and the interior ministry denies any knowledge of his whereabours.

Cecka Petrova, the chief account tant at Sofiabank, has also disarneared, Veska Medzhidieva, Rumen Spasoy's wife and chairwougan of the Orion-owned Bulgarian Agricultural and Industrial Bank, is thought to have fled to South Africa.

Atamas Tiley, a Lukanov ally who bought a stake in BAC and then blew the whistle on its activities, has retreated to Vienna after a bomb was planted in his garden on the same day that Lukanov was shot.

Bulgarians voted last weekend for a new president, but few believe it will change much or improve the country's parlous state. They are almost certainly right. Breaking the power of Orion and the other "economic groups" could mean virtually going to war with the mafia and the nomenklatura. If such a war is ever waged. Lukanov will be remembered as its first victim. — The Observer

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6 INTERNATIONAL NEWS

A EMPHIS, TENNESSEE: In B B King's Blues club on third as Independents. This is not gets V I historic Beale Street, the only sign that there is an election under way is a discreet Clinton-Gore bumper sticker pasted under the posters that say "Performing Tonite". It is the kind of place where the whites dress casually and the blacks look impeccable in doublebreasted suits and costume jewclicry, where the barbecue ribs are as sweet as the music in this city that bred the blues.

Martin Walker

The proportions are just right. The stage is bigger that the bar, and the Preston Shannon band is playing a mean rock-a-billy blues that could have come from B B King's own guitar, hanging in a glass case on the wall.

"Heck yes, I'm gonna vole. We always votes in Memphis," says John Williams, taking a cigarette break after playing what he's known for along the Mississippi river, one of the finest bass guitar solos you're ever likely to hear. "It's not just because Clinton is a musician." Williams grins, straightening the sharp lapel of his suit. "That ain't it. But I tell you one thing, this is the quietest election I ever did see."

Just down Beale Street, beyond the local cop precinct house that is is a huge green banner that says "Elect Silky O'Sullivan to Congress - District 9". Right alongside is Silky O'Sullivan's bar, with the motto

"Every Day is St Patrick's Day". Inside, the bar is pasted with testimonials to Silky as world states- | nessee --- the home of Vice-Presi- | why I'm in a tight race here," says | includes Clinton's home town of man, bringing Memphis barbecued dent Al Gore", and then see Berry. He was one of them, working Hope, the Republican Congressman

O-Stroika" mission, and a huge portrait of Elvis with the label "Another Satisfied Customer".

Silky has about as much chance of winning the 9th District as Elvis. In the city with the highest proportion of blacks in America, more than 40 per cent, the 9th is the fieldom of the Ford family, and Harold Ford Junior will not only inherit his father's seat, but could bring out enough of the black vote to ensure that the Clinton-Gore ticket carries the 11 electoral college votes of Fennessee.

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It would be a profound humiliation for Al Gore if the Democrats falter in Gore's home state, and a real setback to his hopes of the Democratic succession in 2000. That explains why Gore has been home campaigning in Tennessee 10 times this season, and why his wife Tipper is here when the vice-president is elsewhere.

The precedents are grim. Tennessee was the state most transformed by the 1994 congressional elections. The Republicans won the governorship, both US Senate seats, and five of the nine House seats.

This time, the one Senate seat up | home of President Bill Clinton". | special assistant for farm policy for re-election is almost certain to And the curious feature of this elec- until he came home to campaign for Arkansas is just following the Southbe held by the folksy and popular 6ft | tion year is that Clinton and Gore | the First District. 5in Republican lawyer-turned-actor, appear to be sweeping the national Fred Thompson. He leads in the election, but they have left some the country, it just stripped our polls by 2:1, helped along by Presi- thing like scorched earth behind for party leadership back here at home. dent Clinton's attack on tobacco as "the delivery system for the addic- home states. tive drug of nicotine", in a state where tobacco comes second only Arkansas by the Mississippi river, has poured unheard-of sums into to cotton as a cash crop.

chance of winning back two of the flags trying belatedly to surrender congressional seats they lost two to the harvesting machines which says. years ago, but the curious feature of picked the shrubs almost clean. The Tennessee politics is the way it is now becoming a bellwether for the | sky still surly with tumbling clouds. way the nation votes. Voter registra- Black men tinker with pickup tion is the key. One third of the vot- | trucks outside flimsy shacks where ers are registered as Democrata, one third as Republican, and one just a state of swing voters, but of split-ticket voting, in which Ten- crops, great prices. The farmers got judge on the state's supreme court, nessceans increasingly vote one party for president, another for gov- time since about 1973," says Marion grace or despair as the Whitewater ernor, and back to the first for the Berry, Democratic candidate for the mess made Arkansas appear an Senate and then back to the second First Congressional District in American Transylvania, a corrupt for the House seat.

"Tennessee reacts to individuals more than to parties," Senator politician assessing a factor which Thompson told the Guardian. "I'd might help him win a tight race. parture left the Democratic party in mocrats won two Senate seats - a say the state is split evenly among And that is the oddity. The First Dis- disarray, if there had been any party phenomenon which could easily be the parties - I was never under the trict is known as the Delta, home of to begin with. But there wasn't. repeated this year. impression that 1994 was a Republi- the "Yeller Dawgs", people so loyal What you had was a cult of personalcan thing in Tennessee."

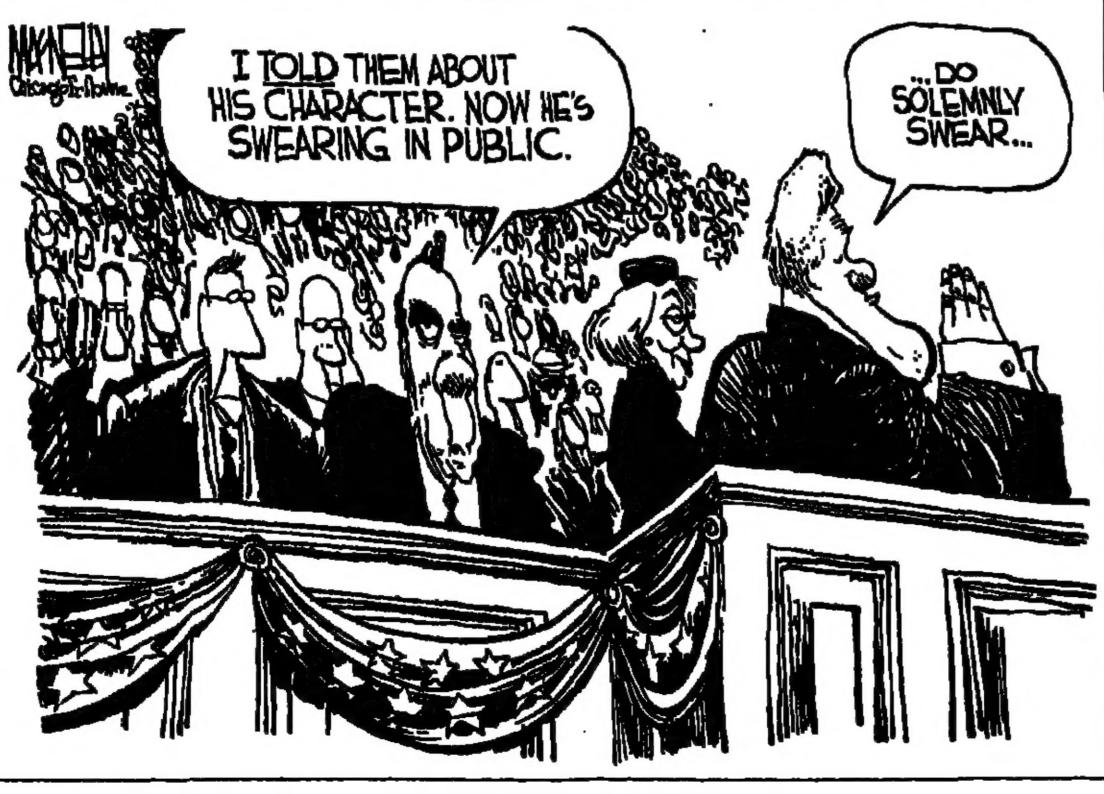
Politicians here count heavily on ran on the Democratic ticket. Dirt their personal vote, which explains | poor and with a strong black vote, it why the Republican Congressman | should be a safe seat in a tradition-Ed Bryant is running TV ads that ally Democratic state, particularly feature his mother explaining what as the president from Arkansas a good congressman her son has | looks bound for easy re-election. become.

coat-tails, and I don't think Bill Clin- to Washington four years ton does either," says state Demo- ago, the deluge hit his party of a party." cratic chairman Will Cheek, who is back home. His successor as govertelling all his candidates that they nor, Jim Guy Tucker, is currently effective. Clinton carried his home and 47 Democrats. To win back have to win on their own, and not appealing against his conviction for state in the 1992 presidential elec- their majority, the Democrats must count on Clinton-Gore and the fraud. The governor's mansion is tion with 55 per cent of the vote, the gain three seats, because in a Sennational party ticket to carry them | now occupied by a Republican, and | same as Michael Dukakis had got | ate split 50-50, the vice-president home. "If more people get out to so are two of the state's four con- four years earlier. George Bush got holds a casting vote. But their imvote for President Clinton, it will gressional seats. And the Demo- more votes among Arkansans under mediate problem is to overcome build the turnout of people likely to crats are fighting desperately this the age of 40 than Clinton did. vote for other Democrats. But you | year to hold the Senate seat just vaalso a 24-hour police museum, there | can't count on it. The question will | cated by Senator David Pryor, one | their congressional races. In the | pear certain to lose Howell Heflin's be, will it help enough. You can't of Clinton's predecessors as gover- Third District, the Democratic can- seat, which the party has held for coll that sort of thing," he says.

bridge across the wide Mississippi

Arkansas.

Cross the venerable iron girder | Arkansas was a one-party state.



GUARDIAN WEEKLY November 3 1996

Arkansas pays a price for Clinton's success

the remnants of the cotton buds flutair is crystal-clear after a storm, the ugly dogs doze on the porches. This

they would vote for a yellow dog if it

"As they have been busy running the Democratic partles of their And this is a small state - it needs all of us to do it. We're thin on the In the waterlogged fields of ground, and the Republican party Arkansas to take it away from us. The Democrats have a sporting | ter in the wind like scattered white | it's tough to campaign against people with unlimited funds," Berry

> But the Democratic party of Arkansas has also been psychologically devastated by the toll the Clinton presidency has visited on the state and beleaguered party which sons of Arkansas who went with him to Washington. The White is about as poor as rural America | House aide Vince Foster is dead by | early September," says Berry. Bu his own hand, Webb Hubbell, for-"It's been a banner year. Great mer mayor of Little Rock and a sippi river in Tennessee, a smile on their faces for the first | is in prison. Others resigned in disand dangerous rural backwater of There is relief in his voice, a casual ethics and insider deals.

"You could say that Clinton's deity, and the personality left town." Gene Lyons, a columnist on the Arkansas Democrat-Gazette, says. "There was a Clinton cult, and a cult | crats look more likely to lose seats for his two predecessors as governor, David Pryor and Dale reasons for this are the slow, his-Bumpers, who each went on to the | toric shift of the Southern states to US Senate. Clinton's gone. Pryor | the Republican camp, and the large "I don't think Fred Thompson has UT WHEN Bill Clinton went has retired, and Bumpers ain't run- number of veteran Democrats relirning this year. So there ain't much | ing this year. The outgoing US Sen-

The party's disrepair is hurting nor, in those recent days when didate Bryce Davis withdrew last more than 100 years. They will have month, complaining of too little sup- trouble holding Senator Pryor's seat "When the president went to port from the party. The Democrats | in Arkansas. Despite the retirement from Tennessee to Arkansas, and | Washington, a lot of our best Demo- | scrambled to find another candiyou leave one sign that boasts "Ten- cratic people went with him. That's date. In the Fourth District, which Sam Nunn, Bill Bradley and Bennelt pork to Moscow in 1990 in his "Pig- another: "Welcome to Arkansas, In the Clinton administration as a Jay Dickey looked vulnerable this Senate seats in Georgia, New Jersey

year. But the only candidate the Democrats could find was a 29-year-old unknown, a para-legal with Hillary Clinton's ill-fated Rose law firm. "It's an open question whether

ern trend, of a traditionally Democratic state with a lot of social and religious conservatives shifting to the Republicans, or whether the Clinton factor and the fraud conviction of Governor Tucker make this a special case," says Tim Kasseler, acting editor of the Wynne Progress, a country weekly with a circulation of 3,500.

Either way, this casts a shadow over Clinton's Arkansas legacy. And what Arkansas cannot understand is his reluctance to come back and campaign at home, for the trouble sent him to Washington, "He had me to an event in Memohis back in Memphis is back across the Missis

The grim Democratic prospects in Tennessee and Arkansas may re flect a national trend. The political tides of presidential and congressional elections seldom flow in harmony. In 1972, the Republican President Richard Nixon won reelection by a landslide, but the De

LINTON may be far ahead in the presidential polls, but in Us Senate the Demothan the Republicans. The two chief ate, to which each state elects 1w0 Nor was the personality cult that senators, contains 53 Republicans their likely losses.

In Alabama, the Democrats ap of three well-respected senators in Johnston, the Democrats are fighting hard and should retain those and Louisiana. But if the Democrats lose any one of them, they can virtually write off their dream of regaining the Senate. Two other incumbent Democrats, John Kerrey in Massachusetts and Paul Wellstone in Minnesota, are fighting desperately to ward off strong Re publican challengers.

The Democrats will make some gains, but probably not enough. They appear poised to win a Senate seat from an incumbent Republican in New Hampshire, and have a good chance in Colorado and Wyoming where two veteran Republicans are retiring. Their hopes of unseating the nonagenarian Strom Thurmond in South Carolina, and the isolationist old reactionary Jesse Helms of North Carolina, have faltered with the unimpressive campaigns of their Democratic challengers.

Such local factors can have a disproportionate effect on the shape and direction of the next Senate, I would, for example, allow a Republican-run Senate to resume its vendetta-like Whitewater Inquiries into the Clintons in what appears to be an inevitable second term.

Eritrea

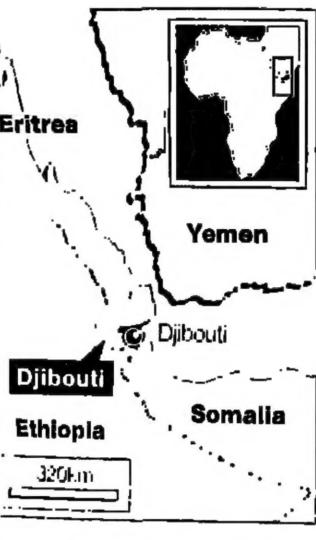
GUARDIAN WEEKLY November 3 1998

Djibouti's social fabric is unravelling as an Aids epidemic cripples the country, writes Alice Martin

Women pay price for drug culture

All my girlfriends were sending gold back to their families, so I came thinking I would do the same. I started as a house girl, then I went into prostitution, but I started losing my sight. I became sicker and sicker and now look at me."

Safia, aged 19, is thin with Aids, She came to Djibouti from Dessie in north-east Ethiopia — an area touched by famine - and, like dozens of other Ethiopian and Somali women swelling the numbers of clandestine immigrants to a state



If D JIBOUTI for us is a addition to other economic woes, place to make money. Djibouti is being crippled by Aids.

The country produces salt and fish, neither of which has been commercially exploited on a large scale. It also supports France's largest military base overseas, as well as providing its giant neighbour Ethiopia. which has a population of more than 55 million, with an outlet to the sea.

However, since the end of the Ethiopian civil war in 1991, the trade in international food aid has switched to the Eritrean port of Assab. And despite a fairly strong currency, the country's economy of half a million people, she has has plunged dramatically, comended up in the country's principal pounded by a three-year rebellion profession; prostitution. Now, in by ethnic Afars that ended in December 1994.

> But with a government preoccupied with the health of its ageing presi- risk of Aids. dent, Hassan Gouled Aptidon, indiare lost in an ocean of ignorance.

> "The common perception is that and to Ethiopian immigrants in parthe Female Solidarity support now ... Ethiopians, Somalis and Dji- of bar girls, boutians." Dr Hasua estimates that "5 to 10 per cent of the population are HIV positive and that runs right through society".

garrison is not clear, but prostitu- family income is spent on gat. tion has thrived in its presence. The 1 Offices close at hunchtime and af-1 sackcloth concealing the leaves.



A street seller in Djibouti shows off a bunch of gat, a vital source of income for poor women

so-called "bar-girls", who serve the | ternoons are spent in qat-sessions in |

girls", earn as little as 50 cents per clicut. Because of the intense com-

An important factor in the rate of | hungry HIV infection is the prevalence of

well-to-do, are the lucky ones; their | the shade. "When men come to us, Now Djibouti must fight Aids. | earnings are good and they work | they are always drugged up on qat," | millions of frames were signed over with people who are aware of the Safia said. "Sometimes they beat us to the city of Paris by the collaboraif we refuse sex without a condom. I tionist Vichy regime during the But prostitutes in the quartiers. Sometimes they pay more. We have second world war. Hundreds of flats vidual efforts to combat the disease commonly known as "Coca-Cola to accept or there is no work." Qatchewing was viewed until 20 | claimed, be expropriated property. years ago as a pastime for the rich. the disease is confined to foreigners | petition, they are unable to reject | Now it is a vital source of earnings | the trendy Marais district, which tuen who mistreat them and refuse for women in the lowest income ticular," said Hasna Mohammed, of to wear condoms. Fifty-five per cent bracket. It is only the most reof Coca-Cola girls have tested HIV strained who do not chew. Asuia, a group, "But everybody has got it positive, as opposed to 25 per cent gat-seller for 20 years and mother of 10, said: "We just sell it not to be

At lunchtime the delivery arrives gat, a green-leaf narcotic grown in by air from Dire Dawa in Ethiopia. Ethiopia and flown in daily to meet At a speed that no other cargo distri-The link between the prevalence demand for the drug in Djibouti. bution can match, gat is available of Aids and the 4,000-strong French | More than one-third of the average | within the hour from rows of women sitting behind piles of damp

the homeless

mission the same, writes Alex Ducal Smith in Paris. In March 1993, General Philippe Morillon mounted an armoured personnel carrier and told the people of Srebrenica: "You are under my protection."

Now, France's greatest military hero since De Gaulle has thrown in his lot with the homeless of Paris.

odds are stacked against him even / sieged Muslim enclave. In Srebrenica, which he tem-

cratic inertia of the United Nations. called him "General Courage".

mside. Gen Morillon, who was 61 last | ner vending machine." week, wants to draw attention to tens and advises, not just a figure- mated 186,000 of them in a soup kitchen near the Louvre.

and providing practical assistance to the homeless. Homelessness and spiritual renewal are unfashionable causes, but Gen Morillon has made a career of them.

General helps | Street fight in Japan over drink

Vending machines that sell alcohol have become THE misery is different but the a cause for concern.

> Jonathan Watts reports from Tokyo

CROWD of teenagers at a Har in central Tokyo chant the Japanese mantra for "Downin-one", reaching a climax as one of their number gulps down But the retired general knows the the last drops of her beer.

A few minutes later, after a more than they were in the be- second round, she collapses on to the table, semi-conscious.

Japanese law prohibits the porarily saved by promising to stay, sale of alcohol to anyone under tien Morillon defied the bureau- the age of 20 but, as the owner of the bar said, "The law is a Main Juppe, then foreign minister, joke. They are under age, but they could go and get as much In Paris, they have stopped count- beer as they wanted, no quesing the cardboard boxes with people | tions asked, from any street cor-

Japan is the only country in them. He said: "I want to be among the world where alcohol is sold them - to be the person who lis- from vending machines. An estihead," Every Tuesday he has lunch | throughout the nation dispense beer, schochu (distilled liquor) A devout Roman Catholic, he is whisky and wine. It is also a backing the plans of a priest he has country with a growing alcohol known for 30 years to open a college problem. But despite governin Paris where young people will ment calls for the removal of ar-spend a year studying the Scriptures cohol vending machines, they nre as ubiquitous as ever.

> Japan has more than one vending machine for every 30 people, the highest ratio in the world, Selling everything from

soft drinks to sex aids, they have become an established feature since their introduction in the 1950s.

Their popularity is partly because of their convenience and partly because, it is said, they allow shame-conscious Japanes to purchase goods that they would otherwise feel embarassed to buy.

However, in recent years the vending machines that sell alcohol have become a growing cause for concern. Koshio Genya, the spokesman for an alcohol counselling group, said the machines have made it easy for anyone to buy alcohol with no guestions asked. "They have been cited as a contributory factor in an increasing number of the cases we deal with," he said.

Recent surveys indicate there are more under-age drinkers than ever, half of whom admit their main supply was vending machines. This has prompted tax and health officials, and some local authorities, to call for alcohol vending machines to be removed from the streets.

The All Japan Liquor Merchants Association agreed to cooperate in December 1994, but since then there has been little progress. Only about 8 per cent of the machines have been phased out, and no deadline has been set for the removal of the rest.

Instead, brewers and vendingmachine makers have proposed waiting until a system is developed to enable them to read identity cards and check a buyer's age.

Part of the reason for the incrtia is the cultural acceptance of drinking, even to excess. Buddhist funerals and Shinto rites to mark the birth of a baby both involve ceremonial alcohol. Cherry blossom viewing in spring and Bonenkal parties in December have also come to be associated with heavy consumption of beer, sake and whisky. While alcohol drinking has declined in most countries in the past 20 years, it has risen

rapidly in Japan, particularly among women.

But the problems associated with heavy drinking are still not fully recognised, despite the emergence of expressions such as "necktic [businessman] alcoholic" and "kitchen [housewife] drinker" to describe new social phenomena.

Masaya Kawada, a doctor specialising in alcohol-related problems, said the failure to remove the alcohol vending machines would make matters worse in future.

"Much was promised, but almost nothing has been done. It seems that the alcohol lobby is too strong and, probably also, Japanese people too tolerant of drinking," he said.

PHOTOGRAFIT IAN WILLIAMS

Paris 'profits from looted Jewish land'

. . .

Alex Duval Smith in Paris

THE MAYOR of Paris has ordered a deed-search on build ings being sold off by the city, after claims that hundreds were expropriated from lews killed in Nazi concentration camps.

The rightwing mayor, Jean Tiberi, ordered the search after it was revealed that President Jacques Chirac's brother-in-law lives in a luxury council flat built on land that belonged to an antiques dealer who was murdered at Auschwitz.

After it became known this year that dozens of members of the French establishment live a peppercorn rents in luxury flats owned by the city, Mr Tiberi ordered that they should be sold as they become vacant.

Historians believe nearly half the property assets being auctioned for in up to 500 buildings could, it is

These include laxory buildings in until the war was known as the Pletzl — Yiddish for area, in 1940 the area had 25,000 residents - primarily hast European Jews who had settled there in the 1930s. At the end of the war, only 5,000 remained. Leftwing city councillors want a full-scale investigation. They fear deed searches will provide insufficient proof of expropriation since buildings were signed over legally, under special legislation created by

the Vielty regime. In a new book, Domaine Prive (Private Domain), Brigitte Vital-Durand argues that an "administrative pogrom" accompanied the Jewish genocide. She says that using bylaws banning "insalubrious habitation", the city took over vast tracts of land whose Jewish occupants were sent to Nazi death camps, Mrs Vital-Durand claims that while Mr Chirac was mayor of Paris from 1977 to 1994, his brother-inlaw moved into a modern block of flats in the Marais built on land belonging to Elias Zadjner, a Jewish antiques' dealer who died at Auschwitz in 1944.

Sarah Zadjner recently won permission to place a marble plaque on the building, in memory of her father's deportation. But lawyers say that were she to attempt to claim ownership of the land, she would face a bureaucratic minefield trying to overturn once-legal ordinances.

Historians concede that even if an investigation were to take place, it would be difficult to establish ownership rights. Entire families were annihilated in Nazi camps and few descendants have proof of ownership.

 Britain knew about a secret deal to misappropriate funds in Swiss banks belonging to Holocaust victims but failed to prevent the money from being given away to Swiss businessmen, according to documents.

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Newly declassified American papers reveal that Britain made an official protest to the Swiss authorities in 1949 about an agreement to transfer the unclaimed funds to the Polish National Bank.

Loot up for grabs, page 27

The Week in Britain James Lewis

Conservatives to hand out lesson in 'morality'

God and righteousness, so the Education Secretary, Gillian Shephard, suggested that the Government intended to toughen up a new "moral code" for schools to include greater emphasis on traditional marriages. The code could become the basis of lessons in citizenship.

This was an indirect response to an appeal last week by Frances Lawrence, whose husband Philip was knifed to death by a 16-year-old boy outside the school where Philip was headmaster. She called for a national campaign to curb violence and promote good citizenship, and immediately won the backing of the three main political parties.

Mixing God and religion with politics, however, is not going down as well as expected. Only six out of ten children now live with married parents, and there is already controversy among teachers and politicompiled by the National Forum for Values in Education and the Community. Five members of the 150member forum refused to back the code because, although it mentioned the value of families, it failed specifically to mention marriage. Mrs Shephard has chosen to back the dissenters.

"Morals are not the preserve of those who are married," warned David Hart, sccretary of the head teachers' union. He said that Mrs Shephard "risked condemning the many who bring up children in a rific physical and mental injuries moral environment single-handedly".

teaching union, NAS/UWT, took it a sponse to complaints by defence instep further saving that "teachers | surers that judges were being too sleaze-ridden Conservative party lecturing the nation on morality".

wagon of moral revival put him by £300,000; and a steelworker's at risk of angering the Roman damages of £906,000 after being Catholic clergy when he ruled out | speared by a red-hot metal bar were any prospect that a Labour government would legislate to ban abortion. He was responding to an attack by Cardinal Thomas Winning, head of the Catholic Church in Scotland, who had said of Mr Blair. "He says he doesn't agree with abortion . . but he doesn't condemn it or have a policy on it."

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This particular spat arose from from equities and gilts. the Catholic Church's document, The Common Good, which ran into a barrage of Tory criticism because it spoke of "morality in the marketplace" and favoured a minimum wage, and was, therefore, considered to be an endorsement of Labour. Mr Blair believes that abortion is a matter for individual MPs' consciences and said he deplored efforts by anyone to make it a party political issue.

AMELOT, which runs the V National Lottery, was given the go-ahead to introduce a midweck draw which is expected to increase ticket sales (currently £2.30 per player) by up to 30 per cent and provide an additional £6 million in prizes each week. The lottery regulator, Peter Davis, brushed aside widespread objections from

S POLITICIANS of all parties | churches and anti-gambling organi-Ajoined in the rush to endorse sations, denying it would lead to excessive participation

Although lottery profits were originally intended to be used in grants for projects which would not normally be funded by government a new National Heritage Bill will dilute that concept and allow grants to be made to private and commercia applicants. This will make money available for historic houses and listed buildings, two-thirds of which are privately owned. The limited government cash available for them is being cut by £44 million over four vears.

A LTHOUGH an 18-month-old boy will die unless he has a liver transplant, his parents were backed by appeal court judges in their decision not to subject him to the ordeal of the operation.

The parents, themselves healthcians over a draft moral code | care professionals, moved abroad just before a liver become available for a transplant, and the local social to be the richest found in British services department won a High Court ruling ordering them to bring the child home.

The operation has an 80 per cent chance of success, but the appeal judges ruled that the decision was one for the parents, who were well qualified to make it.

victims accident awarded compensation for hor-Nigel de Gruchy, secretary of the the Court of Appeal. This was in relump sums they were awarded.

A £1.619.000 award to a car crash Crisis in schools, page 10 | victim was reduced by £532,000; a boy who suffered cerebral palsy at birth because of a hospital error B Britain on the road to over- violent offenders will be phased had his award of £1.285.000 reduced cut by £280.000.

Appeal judges found that the judges who made the awards had fixed them higher than normal after accepting evidence that the only safe way to invest the money was in low-risk government securities (earning around 3 per cent), rather than a 4.5 per cent return expected

Austin SINGLE-PARENT FAMILY GAMES. av. A 的图门 74441,444 HOUSE T

GUARDIAN WEH November 3 197



Salvage expert Colin Martin with a bell he discovered off the north Cornwall coast

Silence is golden for diver given treasure rights

out, Cornwall-based diver Colin Martin can begin to relax. The shipnear St Agnes is believed by experts waters, writes Geoffrey Gibbs.

He has now secured salvage rights to bring the vessel and its cargo to the surface.

masted Packet Service brig, left Lisincluded gold bullion, which would be valued at at least £50 million at there today's prices.

A FTER two years biting his lips | swamped by a storm and sank with | Hu prevent the secret slipping all hands off the north Cornwall

Mr Martin, aged 35, a demoliwreck he came across while diving tions expert and diver, heard the legend when he first moved to Cornwall from Derbyshire 10 years ago and became obsessed with finding the Hanover's last resting place.

When he did so after a seven-year quest, it was by chance. "The sand In 1763 the Hanover, a 100ft two- | had been dragged out by the sea and the whole ship was exposed. bon bound for Falmouth. Its cargo | The ship itself is amazing. It has even got the bottom decks still

Among the items he recovered On December 13 the ship was from the sea bed were the ship's surface.

bronze bell — said to be the packet bell still in existence - z mourning ring worn by : Hanover's captain, Joseph Sheho

PHOTO ROBUES

Officially, the Hanover is b: owned by the Post Office, the s cessor organisation to the pade service whose ships carried me and freight all over the world for 1688 to 1852.

Last month a salvage agreened was thrashed out between Mr.Matin's salvage company, Pos Offer representatives and the Goverment's Receiver of Wrecks & agreement could eventually set Hanover's remains brought to:

had their awards drastically cut by the Court of Appeal. This was in reand pupils will be sickened by the cautious in their estimates of the mindbending hypocrisy of the return victims could expect on the

fenders, reports Alan Travis.

Last week's draconian Crime (Sentences) Bill, which introduces minimum sentences for repeat offenders, will put England and Wales on a par with south-east Asian countries like Malaysia and Thailand. Similar legislation is planned for Scotland.

Mr Howard promised to build at least 12 new private "super-prisons". The extra 11,000 jail places will double the prison space built since 1979 to implement his radical US-style mandatory sentencing package, which he claimed amounted to the biggest change in the "fight against crime this century"...

The 12 new private prisons, each holding 900 inmates and 50 per cent | cult for any politician to reverse. to be built and run at an estimated cost of £3 billion.

They come on top of the six private prisons already ordered by Mr Howard to cope with the surge in jail numbers.

record 57,633.

tences for third-time drug dealers | Bulger.

ICHAEL HOWARD, the and burglars and the automatic life Home Secretary, has set sentences for repeat rapists and take some of the world's most as the prisons are built. Mr Howard oppressive regimes for jailing of insisted it would be worthwhile "These are very radical proposals. Apart from murder and driving o fences, we have never had mini mum sentences in our law.

> He said it was necessary for Parliament to override the criticisms o the senior judges to protect the public from those rapists and violent criminals who struck again after being caught, and from career burglars and drug dealers.

Penal reformers said "the radical departure" will not only mean widespread use of American-style mandatory minimum sentences but also an American-style penal system. They claimed that once the public taste for punishment on this scale had been fed it would be diffi-

larger than their predecessors, are The former Master of the Rolls, Lord Donaldson, led the opposition of senior judges to Mr Howard's new crime bill, warning of the parliamentary battles he faces ahead to get it on to the statute book.

Among the miscellaneous mea-The expansion in the prison sys- | sures in the bill are plans to use tem will leave the rest of the Euro- electronic tagging for persistent pean Union far behind in the world | petty offenders and a decision by custody league. The prison popula- Mr Howard to ensure that it is the tion in England and Wales is at a Parole Board and not the Home Secretary which sets the actual sen-The legislation faces stiff opposi- tences served by child killers, such tion. The mandatory minimum sen- as the boys who murdered Jamie

Deportation hits record

Alan Travis

A RECORD 17,800 people / face deportation as the Government's crackdown on it legal entrants and asylum see ers starts to bite, Home Office figures published last week shot.

There were 3,100 deportation notices issued in the 12 months to June, 20 per cent up on the previous year.

The rise has not yet been matched by an increase in actual removals, which remain at around 5,000, because, accord ing to the Home Office, an increasing percentage of those facing deportation are lodging asylum claims.

The number of asylum seeker whose applications for refuge status were refused rose by 7,000 to 26,300. Only 2,600 people were allowed to remain Britain as refugees or because they had been given "exception leave to remain" in the year to the end of June - mostly from Iraq, Somalia, former Yugoslavia, and Afghanistan. A battered wife from Pakistan, who fears being stoned to death if forced to return, won a High Court decision which could part the way for more women in her position to claim asylum in the UK. The judge ruled that wives rejected by their husbands for alleged adultery in such circum stances were a "social group" entitled to protection under the 1951 UN refugees convention.

that no chemical weapons were used during the war, in spite of re- containing 1,060 artillery rockets ports that Czech units detected filled with 9.3 tons of sarin. The secrecently admitted that two ammuni- with 4.8 tons of sarin. lion dumps blown up by US army engineers at Khamisiyah, in southern Iraq, turned out to contain many | will be seized upon by those who be-

A check ordered by the armed back to the Gulf. forces minister. Nicholas Soames, showed that British troops were concentrated 55km away in northern Kuwait, and that on March 4, Euphrates valley,

March 12, location unspecified - from more serious illnesses.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY November 3 1998

Major buckles as Labour calls his bluff

Michael White

OHN MAJOR'S impromptu and unprecedented decision to reinstate bills on stalkers and paedophiles in the Government's legislative programme after Tony Blair promised co-operation last week threw into disarray Gov-ernment hopes of a fresh start to the election campaign.

Mr Major's about-turn came during the Commons debate following the Queen's Speech, which had confirmed the Government's refusal to address the two issues.

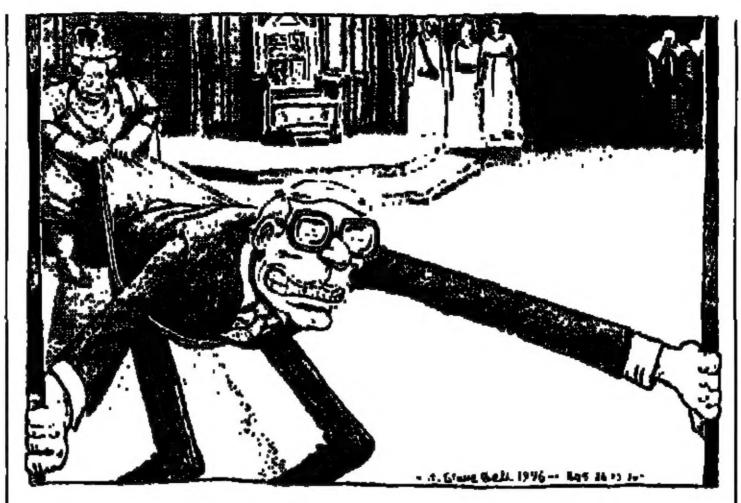
Labour was jubilant over a propaganda coup, though it overshadowed Mr Blair's call for an immediate election to mend "the fractured society" - divided by 17 years of irresponsible government. Paddy Ashdown called it "the fastest 14mm in history".

After 24 hours of skirmishing sion to confine the two measures to the hazardous private member's bill procedure, Mr Blair had challenged Mr Major across the despatch box.

"Bring forward those bills as government bills, on stalking, on paedothem through this House without

to an "impromptu" Cabinet meet-Major consulted Michael Howard, Machael Heseltine and Tony Newton, Leader et the Commons, before telling MPs he accepted the otfer.

Later, in ill tempered exchanges (able changes, win John Frescott, Mr Heschine me sectation from him.



sented as further proof of government drift. But it is unlikely to be the last such manoeuvre before May 1, the expected election date. Both sides are braced for an inover the Cabinet's unexpected deci- | creasingly populist bidding war belwcen the parties on the main themes in the Queen's Speech crime, education, and health.

Mr Blair's allies said Mr Major had been "panicked in mid-speech | Crime Bill, would jeopardise them | into conceding Labour's case" by as the short 13-bill session ends. philes, and we will co-operate to put the dramatic offer in a crowded probably in April. Commons, But some opposition nor to the Commons chamber. Mr | bills in the hope of provoking party | political confrontation that could be exploited in the election.

Labour said it would not be bullied into rubber-stamping unjustifi-

Old Westminster hands could not usted innusters had exposed Mr 1 remember an occasion in 30 years Blair's "hypocrisy" on crime and ex-1 when ministers had decided at the mated a categorical pledge of cos j. 13th hour to reverse a decision to leave two bills to the "lottery" of the fory MI's seemed less than de- private members' ballot. Ministers which at what was bound to be pre- had claimed that, as "non-controver-

sial" measures, they would stand a better chance of becoming law quickly as private member's bills, despite the vulnerability to fili-

On Tuesday last week key minisstalking bill in Mr Howard's new | will not.

BBC radio: "The Government [has] been drafting a bill. It will be made available to a private member and want to see it on the statute book as 1 soon as possible."

in the last session.

Blair's complaint that the main the Government."

ragbag of irrelevant measures from a government in its tormented twilight days".

Tony Blair later dismissed the Queen's Speech as the product of a drifting government acting as if it had "just landed from Mars" and which refused to take responsibility for the "fractured society" it had created over 17 years in office.

Launching the Commons debate on the speech, the Labour leader branded it a thin and largely irrelevant programme of legislation, and said the country needed and wanted an immediate general election in-

But Mr Major firmly rejected the criticism and insisted that his legislative programme was "by any vardstick . . . a meaty Queen's Speech that we intend to carry through in the period between now and the election'

He pledged that the Government ters had said on radio and TV that would deliver a "prudent" Budget the alternative option, to include the | this month, adding: "If we can safely register of paedophiles and the anti- cut taxes, we will. If we cannot, we

Mr Ashdown complained that too much of politics was now in the hands of spin doctors and sound-Harassed by Labour's Jack Straw | bites, which meant that people were | nvCJD -- which affects younger MPs feared the Government might and Peter Mandelson on paedo- lied to about tax, kept in the dark people, was first identified in be tempted to strengthen the two philia, the Home Secretary said on about the true state of the economy March and has so far killed 14 and left out of the debate on the firture of Europe.

Mr Ashdown said that, despite billions from North Sea of and privatisation, the NHS was in crisis and Mr Straw upped the stakes by class sizes were increasing. The hallmark of boyine spongiform demanding action against combat most glaring bungling of all was knives and the promised Govern- over the BSE crisis. "This Government bill on sex tourism, thwarted I ment seems to believe that BSE stands for Blame Somebody Else. The speech by the Lib Dem | But farmers are not fooled, they leader. Mr Ashdown, echoed Mr | know where the blame lies -- with

Nerve gas cloud linked to Gulf war syndrome

David Fairhall

ERVE gas poisoning may soon N be added to possible causes of the north, towards Allied positions. the mysterious Gulf war syndrome being investigated by Ministry of Defence doctors following analysis by American intelligence of a lethal cloud that drifted towards British troops at the end of the 1991 war.

The scare comes as British research seemed to be homing in on a | cloud's dispersal is completed. quite different suspect - large quantities of insecticides purchased

and that two days earlier when the place, the wind was blowing from fierce critic of the freedom of the

The Pentagon admitted that more than 20.000 American troops may, therefore, have been exposed to Iragi nerve gas and that many more may turn out to have been affected | MPs to declare their salaries from when the Central Intelligence Agency's analysis of the second gas | joined the Commons Standards and

The US Defence Department's admission is the latest among mounting estimates of those at risk, ton and Jonathan Aitken, both of The MoD has always maintained beginning with the 150 men who whom resigned ministerial jobs to for questions affair. blew up the first Khamisiyah dump, traces of gas. The Pentagon has also ond dump contained 550 rockets

> The possibility that sarin may have reached some British troops

when the first dump went up, a Lynn-based solicitors Dawbarns, pean slogle currency in 1999. south-westerly wind carried the gas representing more than 100 veterplume away across the Tigris- ans claiming compensation from the

However, last month the Penta- The symptoms attributed to Gulf, gon made two further disclosures: | war syndrome include chronic fathat there may have been a third de- tigue, memory loss and muscle molition involving nerve gas on pains, but many veterans suffer

Hamilton ally joins cash for guestions inquiry

David Hencke

THE Government has appointed a strong supporter of disgraced for questions inquiry.

mer defence minister who opposed the reforms of Lord Nolan forcing consultancies and directorships Privileges Committee last week,

On BBC radio last year Sir Archie gave a robust defence of Mr Hamilsue the Guardian. He told the BBC

on April 11, 1995: "We're coming mentary consultancies which he press to sit in judgment on the cash | we're all very glad indeed that | Far East investment houses. Jonathan Aitken is doing that. It A confidential document shows same.

> with the veteran Ernie Ross, Labour - Doug Hoyle, Labour MP for War-Johnson Smith - resigned because

Sir Archie has a number of parlia- I with the lobbyist.

Hint of Labour split on single currency

Ewen MacAskill

ments on various policies with Gor- not be among the first wave of coundon Brown, the shadow chancellor, tries signing up to a single Eurowill be seized upon by those who be-lieve their illnesses can be traced back to the Gulf. "I would treat with some scepti-cism the suggestion that no British troops were affected by this cloud," a aid Richard Barr, of the King's a Lynn-based solicitors Dawbarns, representing more than 100 veter-ans claiming compensation from the MoD. The symptoms attributed to Gulf, war syndrome include chronic fa-tere pains, but many veteraris suffer from more serious illnesses.

11



thrust of the Queen's Speech was "a

Scientists find human **BSE** link

UK NEWS 9

Tim Radford

 RITISH scientists last week D disclosed the first experimental evidence that so-called mad cow disease has been transmitted to humans through infected beef.

As the Department of Health admitted the findings indicated a direct link, European Union officials warned that they meant ruling out even a partial lifting of the beef export ban.

The Meat and Livestock Commission sought to reassure consumers by claiming current measures had assumed the worst-case scenario.

Researchers at the Imperial College School of Medicine at St Mary's hospital, London, have identified what they call a molecular marker which sets apart from other forms of Creutzfeldt-Jakob disease a recently identified variant which is thought to be linked to infected heef.

The CJD variant — known as people. As well as differentiating the new variant of CJD from other forms, the newly discov ered marker is almost indistin guishable from the molecular encephalopathy (BSE), better known as mad cow disease.

The discovery payes the way for new techniques to diagnose CJD and may eventually make it possible to detect it with a blood

under a tremendous amount of slur has declared in full. He is also a and innuendo by partisan members | privy counsellor and MP for Epsom of the media to try and get rid of and Ewell. He is a director of seven second, documented explosion took former minister Neil Hamilton and a ministers. Somebody has got to companies, including Saladin Holdstand up and fight this and I think ings, a security company, and three

> Sir Archibald Hamilton - a for- would have been very good if Neil that Mr Hamilton tried to raise tens Hamilton had been able to do the of thousands of pounds from wealthy corporate clients of the lob-Sir Archie joins the committee | byist, Ian Greer, to launch his own Deregulation Institute after he was MP for Dundee West, after two MPs | forced to guit his government job.

The disclosure, on Channel rington North, and Sir Geoffrey | television, shows Mr Hamilton still had a close relationship with Mr they were connected with the cash Greer after he had resigned. At the time he denied any financial links



10 UK NEWS

Labour calls for combat knife ban

Kemal Ahmed, Michael White and Ewen MacAskill

OLITICIANS from all parties were this week moving towards a ban on combat knives as Michael Howard softened his stance against legislation to outlaw them. But the signs were that the Labour party was working on its own proposals.

said he would han combat knives. providing the difficulty of a work- using combat knives. He said there able definition could be found. There was a marked shift from his tone of last week, when he rejected which had "no purpose whatever Labour's offer to discuss how to surmount problems.

The Liberal Democrats gave a cautious welcome to an unofficial four-point plan emanating from Labour, with several barristers and workable definition is on the table. police organisations indicating the The four proposals could be the first knives," said Jim Fraser, chairman unpublished document was a good starting point.

would be required to say what the knife was for; that the selling knives designed for violence be made an offence; that the marketing and advertising of such knives would also be an offence; and that the police should keep a list of prohibited knife designs which suppliers would have to consult.

In a Queen's Speech debate on Monday, the shadow home secre-Mr Howard, the Home Secretary, | tary, Jack Straw, brandished a copy of Gun Mart and Accessories adverwas a palpable difference between kitchen knives and combat knives. but maiming and killing people, and should be hanned".

Mr Howard has said he will meet Mr Straw, who launched a national petition on the knives issue, if a step towards that.

The four clauses forwarded pro- qualified welcome to the draft docupose that the suppliers of knives ment. "I would certainly react some legislation is there which can added if a definition could be found.

Secret arms deal exposed

Richard Norton-Taylor

T^{*}HE Government has secretly approved the supply of spare parts for Argentina's warships despite repeated assurances to Parliament that its export policy has remained unchanged since the Falklands con-

Senior Argentine naval officers and Rolls-Royce executives have disclosed that an effective ban on the parts was lifted last year. In a move with echoes of the arms-to-Iraq affair, the Department of Trade and Industry told Rolls-Royce June last year that the export of parts for the Argentine navy did not. after all, breach Britain's arms enbargo imposed in 1982. The initiative, described by the DTI as a "reassessment", was never disclosed to MPs

The DTI said it reviewed Britain's embargo after Rolls-Royce told the Commons trade and industry committee in May 1995 that Argentina was becoming "increasingly frustrated at the UK government ban on the sale of spare parts"

In July, the committee reported that the Argentine navy was "still using British equipment but is obviously unable to buy spare parts or replacements". The Government has never corrected the clear impression given to MPs that spare the headteacher at a Nottingparts were covered by the embargo. though some ministers knew it was be was closing it indefinitely in a incorrect.

The Government seized the opportunity provided by the debate on the Scott arms-to-Iraq report in Febmany to accuse Labour of hypocrisy for selling Argentina the warships in [] threatened to strike over the unruly [] the seventics.

a licence to explore for oil off the and safety grounds in closing Man- haushire's education committee, in- progress. But the vast majority of Falklands and will have to wait at ton junior school, near Worksop. He tervened and the governors agreed pupils wanted to learn, he said. least another two years before it can wrote to parents, saying he was un- in September to individual tuition. claim a shure in an area geologists able to guarantee the safety of the The governors have decided which represents 30 of the 42 staff, UB Britain's first United believe could rival the North Sen.

Shell and Lasmo.

YPF, had "much to offer politically ciently attractive".

Je l



the hurricane of 1987 swept across Britain. Tens of thousands of homes from west Wales to East Anglia were blacked out as power lines crashed down in the face of 90mph winds - the potent remains o Hurricane Lili which hit Cuba last week. At least four lives were lost PHOTOGRAPH: LEIGH GREEF

Closed school fuels indiscipline fears

Donald MacLeod

HE discipline crisis in schools took another twist this week as hantshire junior school announced row over a 10-year-old pupil accused | the failure to relieve the impasse of assaulting other pupils

As members of the National Association of Schoolmasters and Union of Women Teachers (NASUWT) pupil, Matthew Wilson, his head- | strike if the boy returned to lessons, • Argentina this week failed to win teacher, Bill Skelley, cited health Fred Riddell, who chairs Notting- ago, had not made reasonable on human rights. 200 children if the boy attended. Matthew should return to classes, that 60 pupils should be excluded: Nations permanent representa-The first licences were awarded | The school closed on Tuesday.

to consortia led by Amerada Hess, The long-running dispute over Leacher for the boy. youngsters, probably of the order of the institutions of the post-war the boy has set ministers, local au-Eileen Bennett, chairwoman of 12 or 13." Andrew Gurr, chief executive of thorities, teachers and governors at the governors, accompanied . The result of the union's ballot on the Falkland Islands government, odds. The confrontation has fuelled Matthew and his mother, Pamela strike action at the school is due on said that the Argentine company, fears of increasingly chaotic school Cliffe, into school on Monday de- Thursday. management and discipline, after a spite a warning from the council. "I Mrs Shephard made it clear she Chairman, Matthew Harding but conunercially, it was not suffi- crisis inspection at the Ridings do not think it is a good idea to crim- was prepared to send in a squad to died in a helicopter accident, school, in Halifax, and a national inalise a 10-year-old by teaching him take control of the school.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY Vovernber 3 199

favourably to the first three parts of the draft," said Alex Carlisle, the legal affairs spokesman, who is a QC and a part-time judge. "I believe that the parliamentary draughtsmen could turn them into workable legislation. "Although defining the knives themselves is difficult, their marketing, display and sale is an appropriate target and could produce by agreement very workable legislation," he said.

The fourth proposal, which says that knife designs that are excessive for their intended purpose should be referred to the police, was more difficult to support as it could include some domestic knives.

The police have also given their backing to the proposals. "It cannot be beyond the wit of

the Government and parliament arrive at a definition of these type of of the Scottish Police Federation. The Liberal Democrats gave a "These knives are available in cities across the country, and although



be used we are not against expanding that legislation."

A Home Office spokesman said there was a list of prohibited weapons under the 1988 Criminal Justice Act. Combat knives could be | officials said.

debate over morality and behaviour | in isolation. Teachers have got powheadteacher Philip Lawrence.

Gillian Shephard, the Education Secretary, the local education authority, leachers' unions and school over Matthew Wilson, whose mother insists he should be taught in normal lessons at Manton and not sent to a special school.

after spending C3,068 on a supply "There is a small core of disruptive | tive and a key figure in shaping

following the murder of the London | erful unions but children have nobody to speak up for them."

Meanwhile education officials in Calderdale, West Yorkshire, denied charges that they had failed to sup governors blamed each other for port the troubled Ridings school in Halifax, where a teachers' union claims that one in 10 pupils should be expelled.

lan Jennings, Calderdale's direc- that the law requiring civil astor of education, said the Ridings, sault actions to be brought When the eight staff voted to created from the merger of two sec- within the first six years of adultondary moderns less than two years hood breached the convention

He rejected claims by NASUWT. ADWYN JEBB, who was

in Brief

EARS of a looming teacher shortage have prompted the Government to clamp down on the flood of early retirement deals for burnt-out staff. At the same time, ministers intend to make it easier for schools to make younger teachers redundant.

WO men were held in London in connection with the IRA mortar attacks on Heathrow airport in March 1994. The IRA claimed to have carried out the attacks, taken as a sign that it was prepared to hit high-profile commercial targets.

HE Government's "snoopers hotline" is weeding out bogus jobless claimants and in September helped to produce the biggest fall in Britain's dole queues for almost two years,

ANCER experts have found no evidence to link the major water pollution incident that hit the Cornish town of Camelford eight years ago with a mystery leukaemia cluster at the town's secondary school.

THE Tory party has deprived its former treasurer, Lord McAlpine, of the party whip in the House of Lords because of his active support for Sir James Goldsmith's Referendum party

ARTIN BELL, the 58-year VI old television reporter who has covered 11 wars and been on assignments in more than 8 countries, has submitted his resignation to the BBC.

NDREW NEIL, former cdi-H tor of the Sunday Times is to become editor-in-chief of the Scotsman and other publication owned by the multi-millionaire twins, the Barclay brothers.

C AINSBURY and Asda Supermarkets welcomed a campaign by Christian Aid that aims to highlight the human rights abuses of some supplier The charity has already singled out apples from South Africa, asparagus from Peru and tiger prawns from Thailand

HE European Court of Human Rights rejected claims by four women who were sexually abused in childhood

world, has died aged 96.

HELSEA football club's vice which claimed four other lives,

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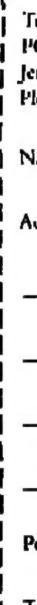
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12 COMMENT **Turning from** the abyss

YEAR AFTER the assassination of Yitzhak A Rabin, Israel — and the Palestinians — are still counting the cost. The atmosphere swirls with anguish and apprehension, intolerance and fanaticism. The peace process has been knocked off its course: the only question is whether it is going sideways or in reverse. What consensus there was among Jews, among Arabs, and between the two communities, has been sharply reduced; the only question is whether it survives at all. Looking back a year later, many are asking the hardest question of all; has the assassin actually won?

After Rabin was gunned down, the Israell people drew together briefly and pledged re-commitment to the peace process. But it was a shaky reconcillation to which the hard-core Likud only assented reluctantly and because it was politically impossible to do otherwise. Even then there were fundamentalists who openly applauded Yigal Amir. A year on, there is far more evidence of discord than o endeavour in Israeli society. quickly the national memory dried up," wrote a commentator recently in the Yedlot Abaronoth newspaper, "how fast the tears evaporated . year after the assassination of the prime minister, and we have not yet learned to live with each other. We have not learned to talk to each other." A Jewish extremist pours scalding tea on a Knesset member who has gone to talk to a mixed meeting the only real solution to Jewish-Arab hostility. of Jewish and Palestinian women. Rightwingers object to the Song of Peace - which Rabin joined in singing minutes before he was gunned down being used at a planned memorial meeting. There are a few brave efforts to bridge the gap of comprehension between the communities, but no one will admit even a hint of optimism.

Zevulun Hammer, education minister under Binyamin Netanyahu, claimed last week that the right wing was being unfairly blamed: "Builets don't fly from only right to left." But within Israeli than he expected; it is certainly the only way to pean elections to pull in 27.6 per society the hatred and the violence has been one way - and it was often condoned by associates of defeat Rabin's assassin.

Mr Netanyahu before Rabin was killed. It is true that the assassination did not create the schism; it only turned the spollight upon it. It is also true (though it does not help) that the fundamentalist objection to the peace process is based not on anti-Arab prejudice but on profound conviction. This is the essence of the argument over Hebron today. To the Palestinians (and to Rabin's government which negotiated the Oslo agreement), Hebron was an Arab town with a small Jewish community; to religious Zionism, it was and is the City of the Patriarchs

An Israeli prime minister can only begin to reconcile such deep divisions in society by leading it forwards, not backwards. Shimon Peres sought to do so after Rabin's death against increasing oddi he made his own task harder by con senting to the Isracli assassination in Gaza of the Hamas bomb-maker known as "the engineer This then triggered the massive bombings against Israeli civilian targets which lost him the election. Mr Netanyahu says he "sees things differently"

from the Oslo agreement, yet he is not a fundamentalist but a pragmatist - with a strong opportunistic streak. The tragedy is that this has so far led him in the wrong direction. It was always going to be hard for Israeli society to face up to the implications of making peace with the Palestinians. the logic (which Mr Peres accepted privately) states. When this is pointed out by outsiders - as President Chirac did on his recent visit to Israel - it causes enormous resentment. Yet a new, equal and co-operative relationship is

Mr Netanyahu and, it must be acknowledged, very large numbers of Israelis, reject a two-state find themselves enthusiastically more of a fuss some years ago solution altogether. But the last year has demon- bowing and scraping to another when Mr Haider spoke approvingly strated that he and they have no other alternative gang of fascists, this time led by of the proper employment policy of except a gradual slide into the abysa (taking Mr | Jörg Haider, aged 46, the Führer of | the Nazis. An even greater percent-Arafat with them). Contemplating this abyss could the so-called Freedom Party. Herr | age of his fellow citizens, however, and should lead to second thoughts on entirely | Haider's outfit polled 22.5 per cent | have declared themselves opposed practical grounds. A rightwing leader is better of the national vote in the general to living near eastern Europeans or placed than a prime minister of the left to change election of October 1994 and last course. Mr Netanyahu might even find it easier | month did well enough in the Eurobring to an end the endless circle of revenge - and cent of the votes cast, thereby in-

A mounting crisis in Central Africa

THE CRISIS in the Great Lakes area of Central Africa is now of huge proportions, both humanitarian and political. Hundreds of thousands | port. The balance of evidence suggests that groups of Rwandan refugees are fleeing from camps in of Banyamulenge fighters have received training shambolic condition of his oppocastern Zaire which they have occupied for two years or more. They are seeking to escape from fighting between the Zairean army and the Banyamulenge - a resistance movement of Zaircan Tutsis. The Rwandan Tutsi government is accused by Zaire of sponsoring the Banyamulenge. But the trouble started several months ago when local Zairean officials, with encouragement from and deport the ethnic Tutsia - who have lived in cratic rule, by July next year. President Mobutu re- only have ascended a rock face with immigrant stance legitimised the Zaire for more than two centuries.

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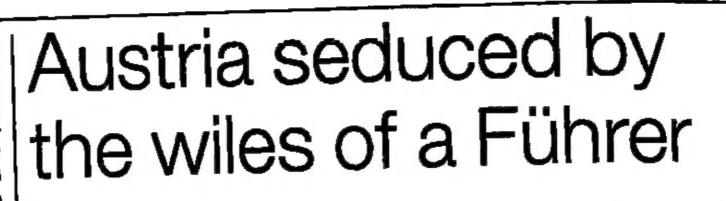
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the immediate situation soon becomes hopelessly not agree which of its two vice-presidents should if ever, have thoroughly approved of eties. He lost the battle, but he has bogged down in the web of a tangled past. But one thing is clear: this crisis is a direct descendant of in Zaire were condoned by Western powers for as the Rwandan disaster. Many of the Hutu "refugees" in the camps are former militia and sol- | covert operations in southern Africa. The unfortudiers who led the massacre of half a million Tutsis in Rwanda. Many are their family dependents who reap the consequences. Another destabilising faccannot be held guilty. The international community tor is the desperate situation in Burundi with its the 1970s and 1980s, for example, The recent history of Europe had little alternative but to treat them all as related ethnic war between a Tutsi government and he vociferously campaigned for refugees. But as happens too often, once the aid the Hutu majority - in which 150,000 people Austria to join the European Union. ingredients to thrive: economic agencies had got the immediate situation under have died with far less publicity than Rwanda over Then in 1994 he did an abrupt U- hardship, preferably affecting social control, so that the refugees were no longer dying the past three years. outside world lost interest. The new Rwandan gov- diplomacy and mediation to stabilise the borders whether Austria would join or not. of the Berlin Wall, and the resulting ernment, which had driven out the liutu killers, needed both practical support and diplomatic pressure to create the conditions where the refugees might be tempted back. There was precious little of either. Instead the ethnic division has bardened in exile. Rwanda claims that the camps have been used as bases for destabilisation. They have certainly been the source of anti-Tutsi sentiment within eastern Zaire itself, in collusion were killed in Masisi and Rutshiro, not far north of requires a sense of urgency so far dismally lack- recent electoral successes. But the other countries - notably Italy and the camps near Goma. The violence forced about ing. It is not enough to shake heads at "tribal war- real danger he poses comes from France - are brewing up nicely. 65,000 people to flec into Rwanda. In October the fare". In this global age, those who drew the lines the fact that he is now tapping into a The price of monetary union may governor and his deputy in South Kivu province on the African map must tackle the consequences. much richer and deeper well, yet be paid in blood. - The Observer

began a similar campaign against the Banya- two main political parties that have mulenge who have lived in the area since the 18th governed Austria since the end of Connoisseurs of these things will century, while Zairean state radio accused United the war. Nations aid workers of supporting the Tutsis against the regime. It is hardly surprising that the Banyamulenge see their only hope for self- this because he often struts about in preservation in armed resistance, or that some Rwandan army officers are giving them covert supand weapons in Rwanda. Their offensive now seems designed to push the Hutu refugees deeper into Zaire, and to provide the basis for a buffer zone which would suit Kigali's interests.

Any prediction of the outcome of this crisis is ing, though he prefers it when there complicated further by the chaotic nature of are photographers around to record First received letter bombs, one of Zairean domestic politics. Elections are due at the | this bare-knuckle athleticism. All of end of the agreed "transition period", which was which makes a nice change from, supposed to see the shift from dictatorial to demo- say, Hermann Göring, who could mains in Switzerland after a serious operation: the the aid of a substantial crane. The expression of sentiments which are Any effort to assign responsibility or blame for feuding parties in the transitional parliament can- portly Reichsmarshal would, how- normally repressed in civilised socinecessary succeed him. Decades of brutal misrule Herr Haider's background, for Papa been winning the war. He is the long as Mr Mobutu provided a useful base for stalwart of the League of German the running, setting the agenda, drinate Zaircan people and the region as a whole now

It is easy to say what is needed: international bership in the referendum to decide alised; and xenophobia. The colla and promote political settlements in both Rwanda The voters rejected his advice on tide of economic refugees that is and Burundi. How to achieve it is another matter. that occasion, but are now become washing over Europe, has triggered Britain's UN ambassador has said "there are too ing disillusioned with the EU as the latter. The savage cuts in welmany arms washing around in the hands of the their government tightens the bud- fare budgets needed to ensure that combatants". Too true - so what will the Perm- getary noose to ensure Austrian aneut Five (who are also the world's biggest arms | participation in European monetary dealers) do about it? An international conference union. And as their anti-European of regional and foreign countries is mooted, with bile rises, Mr Haider is on hand to cautions provisos about the need for preparation. | tap it. Any action has difficulties, but whatever is done



John Naughton

HILIP TOYNBEE once said that if a nuclear bomb were dropped on Twickenham durthe Varsity match, then the prospects of fascism in this country would be set back by several gener ations. Much the same could said for the audience at the New Year's Day concert in Vienna, when members of that city's bourgeois élite gather annually in baroou. splendour to applaud Strauss family favourites. I can never look at them without thinking of their parents and grandparents doing exactly the thing on January 1, 1939, 11 incorporated into the Third Reich. The only difference would have been that the best seats were occu pled by thugs in the black uniforms

If recent elections in Austria are anything to go by, it is only a matter of time before the Wiener burghers haps explains why there wasn't from five to six. It is now running

Unlike the previous Führer, Herr Haider has two testicles. We know a habit which serves to highlight not only his virility but also the political establishment, but only at nents. He has a permanent suntan and action-man tastes: he likes nothing better, apparently, than a spot of political discourse in Austria was rock climbing or white-water raft- significantly coarsened. Several was a Nazi SA veteran and Mama a | Austrian politician who is making Maidens.

gifted and ruthless opportunist. In | in Vienna. turn and campaigned against mem- groups who already feel margin-

namely the xenophobia that is never far from the surface of Austrian life. Traditionally, this found its expression in a virulent anti-Semitism that endured long into the post-way period. In 1991, for example, Gallup poll found that 50 per cent of Austrians fully or partly agreed with the statement that the Jews beau blame for their own persecution through the ages, and 19 per cent agreed that it would be better for Austria not to have Jews in the country. This is the country, remember which in the teeth of international protest about Kurt Waldheim's com plicity in Nazi war crimes, elected him president

GUARDIAN WEEKLY November 3 1998

There are only about 6,000 Jews Austria now, compared with 190,000 before the Anschluss 1938, so they can hardly be construed as a threat even by the most rabid anti-Semite. Nevertheless a third of Austrians, according to Gallup, would prefer not to have them for neighbours, which per-Turks - a sentiment that Mr Haider and the Freedom Party tried to exploit by launching an Austria First petition in 1993 which sought, creasing the number of its MEPs | among other things, to limit to 30 per cent the proportion of pupils in within two percentage points of the | any Austrian classroom whose native language was not German. note that the criterion was not proficiency in German, but having it as a native tongue.

> IN THE event, the Austria First campaign was defeated by the the cost of moving the country's residence and asylum laws signifi cantly to the right. In the process, prominent opponents of Austria which permanently maimed the Mayor of Vienna, Helmut Zilk.

Mr Haider's vigorous ant ving the debate - and who will one As a politician, Mr Haider is a day occupy the Federal Chancellery

countries qualify for EMU are taking care of the former.

What is significant about Austria is that it is the country where the two ingredients are present at ex-All of which partly explains his actly the right temperature. But

The honeymoon of the fifties, which Israel remembers with great nostalgia, was succeeded by bitterness in 1967 and the next few years There followed a series of angry exchanges between the two countries once Charles de Gaulle had gone, and, finally, cathorsis in the form of francois Mitterrand's visit to Jerusalem in March 1982.

The current French president i determined to put himself across as a model of loyalty and consistency after a period when Franco-Israeli relations were more often strained than harmonious. Equally, in his dealings with Israel's neighbours he wants to be seen as the standard bearer of a very Gaullist notion Jural tradition.

Chirac has long called for the statesman of this century." Palestinians' right to self-determinathe was the first French prime min- | East during the second world war. | to be opened in Paris, and in 1977 it the keynote of relations between Paris and Jerusalem should be "de- | context of very intricate factors a | Munich massacre). manding friendship" and "vigilant | vital game was being played out. We sympathy" — two notions that still | therefore had to be part of it." hold true today, as the Israeli prime

the Six-Day War, including Israel; process.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY November 3 1996

seMonde France and Israel: bumpy ride of 50 years

Jean-Plerre Langellier

OR almost half a century, relations between Israel and France have had their ups and downs. And for more than 20 years Jacques Chirac, in and out office, has played a leading role in that turnultuous relationship.

Israeli conflict over the past 15 years | right Action Française. reveals a real continuity. In Decemcommunity to emigrate.



(France's so-called "Arab policy"), Jacques Chirac's visit takes an undiplomatic turn in Jerusalem's Old City last week, as he pushes away as the post of United Nations secrean economic presence and a cul- an Israeli bodyguard outside the Temple Mount

public pronouncements on the Arab- | Charles Maurras of the extreme | and haughty silences.

not allow members of its Jewish | founding father of the Jewish state: "In my view, you are the greatest

1967 had serious long-term effects | but also as an instrument of Eu- | able annoyance of the Israeli prime on relations between the two coun- rope's presence. That ambition minister Menachem Begin - after an embargo on exports of military has shed its anti-Israeli trappings | Jerusalem in November 1977.

overbearing" - words the political of De Gaulie's successors, Georges day of his election in 1981, the new than indifference. commentator Raymond Aron said | Pompidou and Valéry Giscard d'Es- | Socialist president was keen to clear

ment.

France under Giscard, which was hard hit by the oil shocks of 1973

Knesset in March 1982 that Israel A few months after meeting hose had a fundamental right to exist and To get some idea of the huge tile Jewish demonstrators in to live in peace, Mitterrand poured being accepted in New York. ber 1981, he described Israel's an- wave of disenchantment that swept | Chicago in February 1970, Pompi- balm on the wounds of the past. rule between the two countries.

Israel was quick to criticise some of Mitterrand's initiatives in the lion. which over the years has be- East with simple ideas in mind" is to Israel: in 1974 it supported Yasser Arafat from Lebanon on two occaister ever to do so), he argued that | But the rest of that passage is often | refused to extradite Abu Daud (the | Madrid conference to the Oslo ac- | and gas. omitted. It goes on: "I knew that in a man responsible for the 1972 cords and the historic handshake in Washington in September 1993, What particularly struck both Is- France was sidelined. It is that Like De Gaulle, Chirac wants to | card's curious insensitivity to the | Chirac wants to correct. His stance must have realised earlier this week. France's influence as strongly as Jewish state. Giscard also remained the merit of being consistent and re-The row sparked by De Gaulle in possible, not only on its own behalf | curiously silent — to the consider- | flecting a broad consensus in France. On a number of issues, such as a "an élite people, self-assured and to terms dates from the presidencies as "a true friend of Israel" on the to come. But that, surely, is better

(October 24)

French oil firm accused on Burma rights

Frédéric Bobin

US corporation Unocal.

The 400km pipeline, which will scale development projects.

across the region of south which the FIDH report sets out to says it is "scandalised" by alle- ject to be carried out in Burma.

gations made in a report published | Total has regularly been crition October 23 by the French-based | cised for the pipeline. It offers three International Federation of Human lines of defence: the project does Rights Leagues (FIDH). The report not in any way provide support for contains what it describes as "damn- the Burmese ruling junta, since the pipeline project has been responsiing evidence" that human rights | gas deposits will not begin to gener- ble for blatant human rights viola- nected with the pipeline site". have been violated in the course of ate revenues until 2001-02; the comcompany involved, along with the efit to the local population because Total has been promoting small-

loans secured on future revenues"

tions by the regime. "Whether with the area with a view to building in- morally accountable. run from the Gulf of Martaban It is precisely that argument frastructure necessary for the

pipeline", Burmese troops have car-

junta, which "is already profiting fi- posed a code of good behaviour on nancially from the pipeline through | itself when hiring personnel, it de- "main regret" in politics. nounces the army's forced recruit-The report also claims the ment of villagers for the purpose of carrying out tasks "directly con-

All this evidence leads the FIDH work on a colossal gas pipeline pro- pany has not used any forced labour. the aim of assuring security" in a re- to conclude that "had it not been for (October 24)



Brundtland decides to step down

13

Benoît Peltier in Stockholm

T HE Norwegian prime minister, Gro Harlem Brundtland, took everyone by surprise when she announced her resignation on October 23. As her popularity had barely suf-fered at all from her 10 years in the job, she could easily have held out for another term as prime minister after the next general election, due in September 1997.

There had been runiours that the "mother of the nation" might step down before that election. She said at a press conference in spring that she would aunounce by the end of the year whether or not she intended to lead the Labour Party into the next election.

That remark fuelled speculation that Brundtland, aged 57, might quit the Norwegian political scene for some top international job, such PROTOGRAPH JANDOLANDER | tary-general. She has not explicitly denied this possibility, but nor has Chirac is often taxed with incon- were worthy of Edouard Drumont | taing - a period marked by a string | the air between Paris and she ever suggested in public that sistency. But an examination of his | (a theoretician of anti-Semitism) or | of hostile gestures, clumsy remarks | Jerusalem. When he assured the | she was interested in succeeding Boutros Boutros-Ghali — always supposing she had a real chance of

Brundtland stated this week that nexation of the Golan Heights as a Israel at the time, one has to re- | dou snapped at a journalist who | When he argued, just as forcefully, | "one can still do something impor-"act of piracy", and since then he has member the bond of mutual admira- asked him about the prospect of an that the Palestinians were entitled tant with one's life at my age". But tepeatedly urged their return to tion and trust that had united De improvement in Franco-Israeli rela- to their own state "when the time | she also hinted she might be con-Syria. For a long time he refused to Gaulle and David Ben-Gurion. In tuons: "The number you have just comes", he ensured that mutual tent to hold a "simple job of deputy" visit Damascus because Syria did 1960, the French leader told the dialled is not in service at the mo- candour would henceforth be the in the Oslo parliament, and to have more time to write.

It is difficult to see how such an extraordinarily energetic and "I flew towards the complicated and 1979, was hardly any friendlier Middle East, such as the rescue of workaholic woman, who knows the ropes of pragmatic government. come the right to an independent how De Gaulle's memoirs famously Arafat's admission to the UN as an sions (in 1982 and 1983) and the could possibly step down from the state. When he visited Israel in 1987 | describe his journey to the Middle | observer and allowed a PLO bureau | PLO leader's visit to France in 1989. | helm of a country whose economy During the period from the is booming thanks to North Sea oil

Brundtland has given no clear answer to that guestion, apart from saying that she wanted to hand over raelis and French Jews was Gis- process of marginalisation which to the next generation in the best possible circumstances. She will be minister, Binyamin Netanyahu, be "part of it" in order to assert joys, sorrows and symbols of the on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has succeeded as prime minister by Thorbiorn Jagland, aged 45, the leader of the Labour Party.

In the course of her three terms Palestinian state, the principle of as prime minister since 1981, tries. In June of that year he slapped forms part of an "Arab policy" which Anwar Sadat's historic visit to "land for peace", the future of the Brundtland has left her own very Golan Heights, and of Jerusalem, distinctive stamp on the country. equipment to countries involved in and is firmly in favour of the peace The third legacy Chirac has had that stance could not be further re- She was also extraordinarily poputo take into account is the achieve- moved from Netanyahu's. France | lar. This was most in evidence in the and in November he formulated his The second legacy of the past ment of Mitterrand's 14-year double and Israel seem set to pursue their aftermath of the November 1994 refnotorious description of the Jews as | with which Chirac has had to come | presidential term. Hailed by Begin | stormy relationship for some time | erendum on whether or not Norway should join the European Union. which resulted in the Norwegians turning their back on Brussels for a second time.

But the Norwegians did not, for all that, give the thumbs down to ried out "massive population trans- their pro-European prime minister or regard her as having been dis-The report claims 30,000 people | credited by such a spectacular per-Tenasserim to the border with Thai- refute. It contends that the pipeline have been moved since 1991. On sonal defeat; she continued to ride THE French oil company Total land, is the biggest investment pro- project constitutes a form of "eco- the issue of forced labour, while the high in the opinion polls. Despite nomic support" for the Burmese | FIDH accepts that Total has im- | that, she was deeply affected by the episode, which she regarded as her

The high points of Brundtland's political career include her vigorous shake-up of the Labour Party, which resulted in its anti-Nato faction being silenced, and her commitment in favour of the environment as head ject in Burma. Total is the main on the site; and the project is of ben- gion subject to an endemic rebellion the pipeline, all or some of those vio- of the UN commission that paved by certain ethnic minorities (the lations would not have taken place". the way for the Rio de Janeiro Earth Karen and the Mon), or of "clearing In that respect, it says, Total is Summit of 1992. She was also a vigorous champion of women's rights. (October 25)

14 Le Monde / ARTS Haggling over the true worth of Vincent

Alain Franco and Michel Guerrin report on a controversy over the sale of a Van Gogh

N DECEMBER 9 Vincent van Gough's Jardin à Auvers will come under the hammer of Paris auctioncer Jacques Tajan. The picture, which Van Gogh painted in July 1890, a few days be-fore committing suicide, has always attracted controversy. Some experts describe it as "atypical", hinting that it may not be genuine, while others see it as "a masterpiece that heralds abstraction".

After changing hands many times, the painting hit the headlines in the eightics when its then owner. Jean-Jacques Walter, claimed he had been the victim of an attempt to "blackmail" several million france out of him in return for being at lowed to export the picture. He named two former culture minis ters, Jack Lang and François Léo-tard. Lang described his claim as grotesque, while sources close to Leotard let it be known that he had "no recollection" of the episode.

More controversy arose in 1989, when the French government listed Jardin à Auvers as an historic monu- the world's greatest Van Gogh exment, which meant it could not be perts who have had the opportunity exported from France. In 1992 Jean- 1 to examine Jardin & Auvers, a small Marc Vernes bought the painting from Walter for Fr55 million (\$1 million) at an auction organised by Jean-Claude Binoche. Walter then sued | the Vincent van Gogh Museum i the French government on the grounds that his picture would have fetched Fr200 million had it been allowed out of the country. In February this year, the government was Sotheby's and Christie's, and ordered to pay Walter the difference.

Vernes, who died in April, had de France, all agree with that verdict. planned to donate the painting to the state in order that his heirs Faille's authoritative catalogue would have less inheritance tax to | raisonné, L'Oeuvre de Vincent van pay. But they decided otherwise, Gogh, first published in 1928, which preferring to put the picture back lists the painting. About 20 painton the market in December.

10 issue of the satirical weekly Le | doubts about their authenticity, but | suspect the "oversight" may have Canard Enchaîne, which alleged not Jardin à Auvers. that a journalist on the daily Le Figaro had carried out a lengthy in- Binoche auction says the first vestigation into Jardin a Auvers, that owner of the painting was Johanna some experts doubted whether the van Gogh-Bonger, widow of the ther, claiming that Jardin à Auvers painting was genuine, and that the painter's brother Theo, the 1970 edi- is in fact a Schuffenecker pastiche. paper had spiked the article be- tion of the Bart de Lafaille catalogue cause Vernes had bankrolled Le states that it was first acquired by Figaro's owner, Robert Hersant.

The plot was thickening. If Jardin a Auvers was a fake, then the state



Van Gogh's Le Jardin de Daubigny (Avec Chat), done at the Auvers. Doubters say that it helps prove that the Auvers painting is a fake

Fr145 million for an "historic monument" that was nothing of the kind.

ture turned out to be fake after all the efforts the French government had put into holding on to it," says Wal- Emile turned out a number of pas- however, that the list is "in no way a ter. "But I don't believe it is a fake.

That view is shared by many of work measuring 64cm by 80cm. "There's no doubt that it's genuine." says Sjraar van Heugten, a curator at Amsterdam, Louis van Tilborgh, chief curator of the same museum, Ronald Pickvance, a leading authority on Van Gogli, experts at Francoise Cachin, head of Musees

And then there is the J-B de La ings were removed from the cata- copied out the Flammarion cata-Another twist came with the July | logue's 1970 edition because of

Amédée Schuffenecker, a collector | book in which Theo listed his of dubious reputation.

- ie, the taxpayer - had paid fakes, but he was the brother of sur-Oise to the Netherlands. It tells the pointillist section of Jardin à worth."

Flawed opera that returns to the source

Gérard Condé

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HO IS

which was first performed at | year's Valle d'Istria festival in Italy, a | difficult to come up with performers | suit the character of Command, the Theatre Feydeau in 1797, is an recording of which has just been capable of excelling in both registers. whose Médée was bound to be opera that contains both dialogue issued (Nuova Era 72 53/54). and song. Until recently it was The aim of last week's production director of Complegne's Theatre violently passionate. known only in a much later version at the Festival de Compiègne, near Français de la Musique, decided to Inva Mula, with her flexible, well- some extent in Médée, which conby Franz Lachner (1855), who re- Paris, which offered a more com- muster two parallel casts of per- rounded voice, was just the right placed the spoken dialogue with plete version of the spoken text, was formers. His mise-en-scène was so singer to play Créon's daughter, dull moments. The work is some recitative song.

Italian and rejigged, which Maria that it contains spoken dialogue in were discreetly replaced by singers, fectly mirrored by the actor, Callas revived in the fifties. The re- the form of alexandrines, instead of and vice versa, as they hovered near Jacques Dacquemine. sult was something much closer to a | the prose that was the rule in opera | the wings, walked behind a column prototype of Vincenzo Bellini's comique at the turn of the 18th or plunged into the chorus. Norma than to Cherubini's original century. score, which Johannes Brahms had matic theatre".

to tackle the difficulties of the work deft he almost pulled off the illusion Dirce. The gruff timbre of Jean- thing of a freak, but a fascinating It was that version, translated into head-on. The originality of Médée is that there was only one cast: actors Philippe Courtis's Créon was per- one.

Cherubini wrote the title role spe- "doubles" did their very best to pitch justice to the overture. But from hailed as "the greatest work of dra- cially for the celebrated singer Julie- their voices in the same register, but then on they rendered Cherubini's Angelique Scio, who was equally | the emotional impact was weakened | numerous' dramatic ' effects ' and More recent productions have, skilled at both tragic declamation by the switching between two strikingly varied instrumentation fortunately, gone back to the origi- and singing. Her partners were incarnations of the same character. ' with admirable intelligence.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY lovernber 3 199

with part of his car cut off.

During a bout of depression, he gave his brother Amédée his personal collection of paintings, which Gauguin, Monet and Renoir, along with a number of pastiches. Amédée is believed to have sold some of the pastiches from 1910 onwards in Berlin, passing them off as the real thing. But he was found out.

CHUFFENECKER is not catalogue. Binoche says that Schuffenecker's name not being in the catalogue was probably the result of logue of Van Gogh's works. Some been deliberate, since Schuffe-But whereas the catalogue to the | necker's name, given his reputation, would not exactly have helped the

Another piece of evidence in favour of that theory is the notebrother's works after his death, be-

Claude-Emile Schuffenecker (1851- | us that Van Gogh painted 67 pic-1934), who was a close friend of Paul tures in the last three months of his "It really would be a joke if the pic- Gauguin, knew Van Gogh, and was life. None of them bears the title himself a collector. Like many of his Jardin & Auvers. Van Tilborgh of the fellow painters of the time, Claude- Vincent van Gogh Museum argues, tiches, including one of Van Gogh's | bible" and says that Van Gogh paint- | was exhibited in various places durcelebrated self-portrait showing him ings were often given titles long ing the following three years, noafter his death.

that Jardin à Auvers does not resem- sold to the Berlin art dealer Paul ble other paintings done by Van included pictures by Van Gogh, Gogh during the last few months of his life, such as Le Jardin de Daubigny (Avec Chat) and Le Jardin de Daubigny. In Jardin à Près d'Une Maison. A Germa Auvers, there is no sky to be seen, expert, Roland Dorn, after scouring and the flowerbed in the foreground the Bernheim-Jeune archives and is clearly pointillist in style.

Van Gogh applied three successive layers of paint to that part of the proved there was a mix-up over tiles listed as one of the Van Gogh | picture - first, a bluish back- and catalogue numbers. It now turns Nowners in the 1992 Binoche ground, then some yellow dots, and out that Jardin Près d'Une Maison is finally some blue dots. To prevent | the painting that dates from the Arles ; the three layers from merging, he period, while Jardin Avec Fleurs is would have had to wait for the first | the picture we know today as jardin "an oversight", and claims to have | two to dry. To speed up the process, some painters use a drying agent; doubt it comes from the Johanna van Van Gogh did not.

July 1890 was a wet month, so Van Gogh would have had to wait at least thorities at the December 9 auction five days between layers. Some experts contend that such a slow are widely expected to make a presale. Others have gone one step fur- process and painstaking technique emptive bid to put an end to the cordoes not square with his frame of troversy. The price is expected to be mind at the time, when he was in the region of Fr50 million. caught up in a creative frenzy and was painting virtually a picture a day.

Those who believe the painting to be genuine dismiss such theories. | out at about Fr200 million in all. Not only did he trade in many fore they were taken from Auvers- Tajan says: "Experts have compared precisely what the painting

Auvers with a similar section another Van Gogh painting now in Japan. There's no doubt they are b the same hand and the same brush." Walter points to the sheer quality

of the painting. "When you look a Jardin à Auvers you receive such a shock that it's quite clear only a genius could have painted it - and Schuffenecker was not that genius.

The documentary evidence also points in favour of the painting being genuine. Van Tilborgh says: "The 1970 J-B de la Faille catalogue, which used to be regarded as the standard work of reference, indicates that Amédée Schuffenecker was its first owner. It is true that the Schuffenecker brothers are tradi tionally suspected of producing fakes. However, by charting the his tory of the Jardin à Auvers - which has always been incorrectly de scribed — one can prove that this was not the case.

"It was not until the 1992 sale that Theo's widow, Johanna van Gogh-Bonger, was cited as the first owner of the painting. That totally contradicted the J-B de la Faille catalogue - and thus fuelled wild speculation

"The facts are as follows: in 1905, painting listed as Jardin Ave Fleurs in the catalogue of works Van Gogh painted in Arles went on show in Amsterdam. It came from the collection of Theo's widow. tably at the Bernheim-Jeune at Doubters also point to the fact | gallery in Paris in 1908. It was then ; Cassirer, who later sold it back to Bernheim-Jeune.

"The painting was always associated with another picture, Jarda, matching up a 1908 photograph with the Bernheim-Jeune catalogue, has à Auvers. There can be absolutely a Gogh-Bonger collection."

The attitude of the French a will no doubt settle the matter. They

Tajan says: "What with the Fr14) million the government has already shelled out for nothing, that works

That said, the degree of osmosis achieved by actress Francine Bergé czewski, had worked wonders with and singer Michèle Command in the score, and if the details some nal. The opera was performed in a apparently less so, to judge from the the title role was nothing short of times seemed more interesting that concert version in 1985, and then reaction of critics and audiences remarkable. Bergé managed to tone the work as a whole, it was because UIGI CHERUBINI'S Médée, given a stage production at last alike. Nowadays it is even more down her dramatic temperament to that was how Cherubini wanted it. That is why Pierre Jourdan, poignantly seductive rather than

The modest forces of the Ensemble Orchestral Harmonia Nova did The actors and their singing not really have enough power to do

Their conductor, Michel Swier

The composer, whose imagina tion was clearly stimulated by the theatre, had a keen ear but lacked 3 breadth of vision. That shows 10 tains both sublime passages and

(October 23)

se Monde Directeur: Jean-Marie Colomban. World copyright by C Le Monde, Paris All rights strictly reserved

Atlanta Bomb Suspect Cleared | Separate Trials Ordered

Pierre Thomas and Bill McAllister

HE U.S. Justice Department last weekend ended the nightmare of former security guard Richard Jewell - who went from hero to villain in the bombing at the Olympic Games in Atlanta last summer -- by formally acknowledging that he is no longer a suspect in the terrorist incident that led to two deaths and injuries to 11 people.

"We are overjoyed," said Jewell's attorney, Jack Martin, citing a oneparagraph letter and two-page statement from U.S. Attorney Kent I Alexander. "This is the government's way of saying, 'We don't believe you did it' and 'You're inno-

A day after the early morning bombing at the Olympic Park on July 27, the portly former deputy sheriff was being hailed for spotting the green knapsack that contained a crude pipe bomb minutes before i exploded, notifying authorities and helping police move people away from the bomb.

Three days later law enforcement investigation.

Pleading that his life had become pressed his innocence. But investigators declined to comment.

Finally, Jewell's lawyers orches- a "former suspect." trated a public campaign to preshis lawyers. His mother held a tear- | there is not a prime suspect. ful press conference pleading with | The initial reports that law | warrants has been returned."



tors to clear her son.

Constitution, then other news month ago law enforcement sources had "in fact interfered with the two-ton bomb exploded. media that the contract security acknowledged their investigation investigation." One law enforcement a nightmare, Jewell repeatedly ex- a request that the search warrant Atlanta, early in the investigation of the trials, used against the guard be made although he was not the leading While prosecutors maintain that public, declared that the Jewell was suspect.

pursuant to court-authorized search | to the FBI.

For Oklahoma Accused

Lois Romano

THE JUDGE in the Oklahoma City bombing case last week ordered separate trials for the two men accused of the crime, saying they would be unfairly prejudiced by a joint trial

tory for the defense, which had argued in hearings last month that a jury would not be able to weigh the evidence separately against Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols if the men were tried together. The central issue was incriminating statements Nichols made to the FBI two days after the April 19, 1995, bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in which 168 people were killed.

The government had strongly opposed severance, arguing that it als, and that it would be difficult to find a second, untainted jury. The government also clearly believed The Justice Department's action the FBI, Alexander said. He said in tried together since Nichols was not sources told the Atlanta Journal- was not a surprise. As early as a bis statement that the revelation in Oklahoma City on the day of the

However, last week, federal week a federal judge, presiding over who lived with his mother in have much impact" on the outcome expect any trials before next year.

Jewell "endured a highly unusual men is identical, only McVeigh has "We've got suspects, but there is | and intense publicity that was nei- | been directly linked to the Ryder | sure prosecutors to issue a letter | nothing close," a senior law enforce- | ther designed nor desired by the | truck that allegedly carried the | that justice might be delayed. confirming that their client was no ment source said last weekend. Law FBI," Alexander said in his state bomb that destroyed the Murrah longer a suspect. Jewell went on enforcement sources have said ment. The public should bear in building. The case against Nichols hour interview to FBI agents and under scrutiny in the case, but, in connection with the bombing and in the days leading up to the explopassed a polygraph test arranged by three months after the bombing, that the property that was seized sion, as well as Nichols' statements

A Jolt for Tutsis and Hutus | Date Conversion Could Cost \$600 Billion

EDITORIAL

TERRIBLE THINGS are going L on in Zaire. The ethnic wars Rwanda and Burundi have create what the U.N. High Sadako Ogata, terms a looming humanitarian catastrophe.

Burundi and Rwanda bave bea condition of relative Western detachment. The United States leads in humanitarian relief for the affected peoples. But neither | Secretary.

guilt at the feebleness of the in- Raily Chandrasekaran ternational response and relief at avoiding being drawn into C TART WITH thousands of busi- check. these African conflicts.

between Hutus and Tutsis in comeback from deep disaster. | abroad, factor in billions of lines of | who knows what? Still, it is hard to think that computer programming that must spilled over into eastern Zaire, | Burundi and Rwanda will soon | be checked for faulty date-related feud with long-established Tutsi | tarian catastrophe" of which | problem of adjusting computers to gravate each other and threaten dressed right now. Tens of thouto spread armed conflict. They | sands of women, children, sick | The Gartner Group, a consulting and elderly are fleeing. The ristion of relief workers.

The grimness of the prospect come metaphors not only for a the world. Could a major new could range from \$9 billion to \$30 The fix-it job is complicated by tion of African ethnic conflict, spell? The United Nations has genocide and chaos but also for sent a special envoy to the re-President General Boutrosable to muster an effective mili- the leaders of Rwanda, Burundi is 1900. tary intervention or much of a and Zaire in for a day's discus-

D nesses and government agen-

firm, estimates the price tag at which has a plethora of antiquated ton administration officials.

Pension payments might stop,

70-year-old woman is negative 30 | percent of U.S. businesses have

Computers controlling missiles, Uganda is cited as a model of cies in the United States and confused over the date, might do --The cause? Two digits: 0 and 0.

Most large computers use two which holds refugees of both be up to taking the steps re- commands, add the limited time digits instead of four to represent ethnic groups. At the same time. quired to come back from their left, then look at the potential in- years -- to the computer, this year Zairlans are playing out an old brink. That leaves the "humani- pact of errors and the scope of the is "96" rather than "1996." Unless something's done, the "00" that will immigrants. These tensions ag- Mrs. Ogata warns to be ad- the coming millennium becomes appear when the millennium arrives will be interpreted as 1900.

To save costly memory space in computers, programmers in the wide. For the federal government, abbreviated years into two digits and that was woven into billions of has induced immobility around | mainframe computer systems, it | lines of programming instructions.

wrote the programs and understand downs on the first day of the new | tion of programmers must tear it nor the United Nations nor Ghali, Mrs. Ogata, the heads of millennium - as computers, with apart hugely complex programs, other friendly states have been the World Bank and IMF invited their rigid logic, conclude the year: figure out how they work, make fixes and hope for the best. With 38 months left until the mil-

strange combination of Western | joit the parties desperately need. | to be the current year, concludes a | ner Group estimates only about 17 | date-conversion projects.

The Washington Post

Court Judge Richard P. Matsch turned on those statements, in which Nichols denied any involvement but told investigators he had picked up McVeigh in Oklahoma City a few days before the blast; that during the drive back to Kausas, McVeigh told him "something big" The ruling was a significant vic- was going to happen; and that he had cleaned out a storage locker for McVeigh the day after the blast.

15

"If these statements ... are taken as true, they lend to incriminate Timothy McVeigh," Matsch wrote,

Matsch said that as a result of what Nichols told the FBI in nine hours of questioning "Timothy McVeigh will be profoundly prejudiced by a joint trial . . . "

McVeigh lawyers had maintained that allowing the statements in a joint trial would violate McVeigh's rights since his attorneys would not would be costly to conduct two tri- be able to cross-examine Nichols unless he chose to take the stand in his own defense.

The judge agreed last week, writ-President Clinton to order investiga- enforcement authorities suspected that their case against Nichols ing that if tried jointly, McVeigh's Jewell were highly embarrassing to would be stronger if the men were hawyers "cannot question Terry Nichols or cross-examine the FBI agents on what they say Terry Nichols said."

Matsch also ruled that McVeigh guard was the focus of the FBI's has been unable to develop any official said that it had forced invess Prosecutor Larry Mackey said, "I be tried first, but did not set dates for solid evidence against Jewell. Last | tigators to concentrate on Jewell. | honestly don't think the ruling will | the trials. Attorneys said they did not

Both the government and defense lawyers expressed relief that most of the evidence against the the last major issue before trial had been put to rest. But relatives of the victims said they were disappointed

"If this is what they call swift justice. I hate to see it when it's slow," CBS television's "60 Minutes" to some individuals associated with mind that Richard Jewell has at no will likely focus on phone records [said Kathleen Treanor, who lost her proclaim his innocence, gave a six- the militia movement have been time been charged with any crime showing the men talked constantly 4-year-old daughter and her in-laws in the blast. "I'm angry because it will take so much longer. But they acted of their own accord and they should The decision by U.S. District | tried on their individual actions."

years old and doesn't deserve a | taken the imperative step of seeking outside assistance.

At congressional hearings this summer, Rep. Stephen Horn, R-California, gave 14 of 24 Cabinet departments and federal agencies grades of 'D' or 'F' on their year 2000 conversion plans. Some consultants predict 75 percent of states will not have made the necessary changes in the next three years.

"It's absolutely the largest management problem many of these organizations will encounter," said Barry C. Ingram, chief technology Commissioner for Refugees, ing violence is forcing evacua- \$300 billion to \$600 billion world- 1950s, '60s, and even '70s and '80s, officer and vice president at Electronic Data Systems Corp., which provides computer services to businesses and government agencies.

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"There is no magic bullet," said seemingly irremediable condi- political initiative break the billion, say congressional and Clin- the fact that many of the people who Peter T. Farkas Jr., systems engineering director at BDM Interna-Although most personal comput- them are retired or dead. Program-: tional Inc., an information technology: gion. This is the old style. ers won't be affected, institutions all ming "languages" they used are company performing year 2000 pro-Suppose President Clinton, over the world that rely on big main- often obsolescent ones that few peo- jects for government and private-Chirac. U.N. frame systems could face break ple study any more. A new genera- sector clients. "Fixing this problem is a very involved process."

But the conversion effort can also be big business. "If you know what you're doing, there are millions of dollars to be made," said Mike Dediplomatic or rebuilding initia- sion. It could turn hand-wring- because the machine, subtracting a lennium, many computer analysts Vito, president of HCL James Martive either. This has produced a ing into the high-level political date of birth from what it calculates 'say time is running out. The Gart- tin Inc., which specializes in

16 The Washington Post / U.S., INTERNATIONAL Paying the Price for a Bankrupt Policy

COMMENT **Jim Hoagland**

ID Bill Clinton's need for quick cash influence his administration's decision to sell nine F-16 jet fighters to Indonesla's dictatorial regime? The honest answer to that question is yes; but not in the way Bob Dole would have you think.

Step back a moment from the campaign finance argument. Both parties have exploited loopholes and infringed campaign finance laws in this odious, cash-drenched election year. The Democrats seem to have been more odious, or perhaps less clever at subterfuge. But the Indonesian imbroglio tells us something that is ultimately more important.

That something is not about human rights. The Lippo Group and its agents did not need to make campaign contributions to have this administration bend its human rights policy on Indonesia.

This administration has no solid commitment to human rights. East Timor or elsewhere. Its handling of China has proved that. So has its eagerness to sell arms abroad. As Kipling said of British journalists, there is no point in buying this administration on human for free.

the need of President Clinton - as | casualty-free military intervention. opposed to Candidate Clinton - to unload those warplanes to Jakarta for about \$200 million and replenish U.S. government coffers, not campaign coffers.

Clinton has no trouble raising campaign funds. It is the money he needs (or a President Dole would need) to run sound and effective foreign and defense policies that is scarce.

This is the larger scandal of the 1990s: Both Congress and the administration have created penny-wise, pound-foolish approach to maintaining American leadership in the world. Instead of integrating resources and goals in a common vision of the national interest, the Democrats and Republicans who form official Washington pursue narrow, short-term political advantage in their spending decisions.

administration's panicky The responses to the Republicans' slash- break the conspiracy of silence that and-burn attacks on spending both parties observe about the abroad have added to the general incoherence of its ad hoc foreign policy.

enormous between a defense budget that receives no true critical evaluation | honest in the campaign on the costs from either party and the emaci- of American leadership. In a speech except by bombing before breakfast ated, politically unpopular foreign he gave last week on expanding (in Dole's colorful phrase) or by rights when you see what it will do affairs budget means that a NATO into Central Europe, the selling warplanes to one unsavory president has few levers of power to president barely touched on what it regime instead of another.

Clinton publicly promised last year to return Pakistan's money. To his embarrassment, it proved politically difficult to squeeze the funds the eruption of civil war between out of Congress. Instead, the Penta- | the Kurds. Embarrassed by that chaser. The Indonesian deal would have sailed through uncontested had the Lipno scandal not surfaced and the Nobel Prize Committee not decided to award its 1996 Peace Prize to human rights activists in East Timo

Police Shooting Sparks Race Riot in Florida Town

Michael A. Fletcher In St. Petersburg

MANY RESIDENTS of this Gulf Coast city are proud of the racial progress made here since the days when black areas of town received few government services and African American celebrities were barred from the swank hotels

that overlook glistening waterways. But the sense of racial calm spawned by that progress was shat- in solving this, we have to get to tered by rioting that exploded here last week after a black motorist was shot dead by a white police officer. The disturbance left 11 people injured, 28 buildings and cars burned, and leaders here pondering the true dimensions of this city's racial progress

"St. Petersburg was not known as a racially tense city," said Mayor "Something Fischer. snapped on Thursday [last week] and we have to look at that. Racial relations have been pretty even. wouldn't say they are considered bad."

In many ways, relations between the races are better than they once were. The police force is better integrated than ever, there are more black elected officials and the mayor says local government spending far more in minority communities than before.

But those changes have made little difference to many residents of the largely poor, black southeast section of the city, where hundreds of people poured into the streets looting stores, throwing rocks at authorities and setting fires in an outburst of anger after the police shooting.

"It's obvious you've got a problem. People don't take to the street like that for nothing," said Fred Woods, 40, the owner of a small

restaurant, who sat outside watching workers demolish the remains of a liquor store torched during the rioting.

The difficulty for city and community leaders is to find a solution to the complex and volatile mix of race, class and economic problems that are sure to prove more daunting than the racial barriers that once separated people in this city.

"If we are going to be successful the root of the problem," said Police Chief Darrel Stephens, who had been praised as an enlightened reformer before the recent

Longtime residents say Petersburg's formerly all-white city government once was totally indifferent to the city's black residents. Trash collection in black neighborhoods was irregular, schools were were dismissed out of hand. A gen- the shooting of a black man eration ago, when black professional baseball stars such as Lou Brock, Bob Gibson and Curt Flood came here for spring training, they were forced to stay with prominent black familles because they were unwanted in the hotels that housed their white teammates.

been addressed, in large part because of the city's tradition of quiet | in and out of juvenile detention facil- | that?" but persistent activism.

"St. Petersburg has always been a hub of activism," said Peggy Peterman, a retired columnist for the St. Petersburg Times. "We were always marching."

But while many of the old grievances carried a moral weight that ultimately could not be ignored, there | Lewis and a companion for speedis no consensus about what to do in ing. Federal, state and local officials the wake of the recent rioting. are investigating the incident, which There have been calls for jobs and is the seventh police shooting here economic development in poor com- this year and the second in a week. a pattern of police brutality.

() (m A

The F-16s that the administration plans to deliver to Indonesia beginning in 1997 were originally ordered and paid for by Pakistan in 1989. Delivery of the high-performance warplanes was halted when Pak- years. istan's nuclear weapon development program became unmistakable.

The Republicans are demanding an investigation. I'm for it. A public inquiry after the election might weakening of government and American leadership abroad because of their misdirected budget imbalance priorities and fiscal timidity.

Neither Clinton nor Dole is being

The driving force in this sale is | pull abroad other than quick, | will cost the United States, an issue that will dominate Senate hearings and headlines next year. Clinton avoided any estimates of the costs, which a recent Rand study says could run between \$14 billion and \$110 billion for the alliance over 10

The costs of cost-cutting are already apparent in Iraq, where the administration's failure to come up with \$2 million for cease-fire monitors contributed significantly to fighting, the State Department is now belatedly trying to get the Kurds to agree to a new offer of cease-fire monitors. If the Kurds agree, the price is going to much higher

In any event, the administration has already spent 20 times the \$2 million the peacekeeping proposal would have cost on ineffectual missile attacks on Iraq.

America cannot conduct an effective foreign policy on a misshaped shoestring. The administration and Congress that take office in January must honestly examine the current budget priorities and change those that make it impossible for the United States to exercise leadership



inferior and the grievances of blacks | Police patrol the streets of St Petersburg during rioting prompted by PHOTOGRAPH BRIAN BAER

munities, but few plans to transform the calls into reality.

the motorist whose slaving touched off the disturbance, did not engender widespread sympathy. Lewis had a long arrest record that began ities for years and was wanted on drug and theft charges at the time of his arrest.

In an account disputed by some witnesses, police said he was shot after the car he was driving lunged at Police Officer James Knight, who along with his partner, had stopped

"This guy had a long list of prior arrests . . . His own brother called Even in death, Tyron Lewis, 18, him a crack dealer," Mark Larsen, a popular radio talk show host, said in an interview that reflected the view of the vast majority of his callers. 'The cops fired and took this . Many of those problems have when he was accused of shoplifting [guy] out ... Should we be sympa- Alexandria, Virginia. a bathing suit at age 9. He had been thetic to that? Should people riot for

> rioters, Lewis's personal history der a war-crimes suspect, Ivica was beside the point. For them, the Rajic, who was reportedly seen issue was a police force that, while | in a state-owned hotel in the undeniably changing, for many Dalmatian port of Split. An arseems to be as oppressive as ever.

"The community is totally fed up and appalled by the police aggression that has gone on here for too long," said Alverita Donaldson, who massacre of 16 Muslim civilians attended a meeting where residents in 1993. The Croatian governloudly condemned what they called ment has denied providing a sale

GUARDIAN WEEKLY November 3 199



Michael Dobbs

THE CLINTON administration last week said it would hold up a long-planned transfer of \$100 million of arms to Bosnia's Muslim-Croat federation until the Bosnian government removes a senior defense official who is reported to have close ties with Iran.

The American demand for the resignation of Bosnian Deputy Defense Minister Hasan Cengle came as a chartered ship with 45 M-60 battle tanks, 80 M-11 armored personnel carriers, and 15 UH-1h helicopters arrived at the Croatian port of Ploce, U.S. officials said the weapons would remain under U.S. control until the Bosnians agreed to several demands, the most important of which is the dismissal of Cengic.

The arms shipment forms a key part of the "equip-and-train" program announced last year by the United States that is designed to create a rough military balance between the forces of the Muslim-Croat federation and the Serbian entity, known as the Serb Republic. The program has been hamstrung by repeated delays, many of them caused by bickering between the Muslims and the Croats over the creation of an integrated federation army.

State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns said the equipment would only be transferred to storage sites when several "issues of concern to the United States are resolved on a satisfac tory basis by the Bosnian government." A U.S. official later specified that the main U.S. demand was the resignation of Cengic, who was appointed deputy defense minister of the Federation last summer.

An Islamic cleric, Cengic is a longtime associate of Boanian President Alija Izetbegovic and was a co-defendent with Izetbegovic in his 1983 trial for fomenting Muslim nationalism in the former Yugoslavia. He has traveled frequently to Iran, and served as the go-between for the large-scale smuggling of Iranian weapons into Bosnia during the war.

In addition to Cengic's removal from office, Washington is also using the shipment of weapons to pressure the Muslims and Croats to speed up implementation of a defense law, which provides for the integration of their armed forces. The training of Bosnian soldiers began earlier this month by a team of 170 retired U.S. soldiers from Military Professiona Resources Inc., based in

In a separate move, the State Department last week called on But to many who supported the neighboring Croatia to surrenrest warrant has been issued for Rajic by the United Nations War Crimes tribunal in The Hague, on the grounds that he led the haven to Railc.



month She's occupied so many cockroach-infested apartments that she counts herself as something of an expert on the pests: "I think they have a death wish on me because I've killed so many of them."

But Westerners like Emma are conspicuous -- to police, to nosy neighbors and to people's committee watchdogs on the lookout for illegal residents.

system.

income. Foreigners are not the only ones who complain about the capital's housing shortage. Increasing numbers of Chinese professionals now work in the rapidly expanding private sector, including foreign companies, and since these Chinese have

no official "work units" they are not entitled to subsidized housing. The private apartments are at Hong Kong-level rents, so young professionals often can only afford to live in private housing they con-

sider substandard, "The facilities are terrible," said

one young Chinese woman who works as a public relations officer for a multinational firm. "I have no bathroom, no shower and almost no furniture. There's no telephone. It's just like a dormitory room — only much simpler." Many Chinese officials seem to

stereotype all foreigners as rich so they see no problem with regulations requiring them to live only in designated apartments, even if the

GUARDIAN WEEKLY November 3 1998

CHINA / The Washington Post 17

Keith B. Richburg in Beijing

HE BRITISH woman calls herself Emma, but it is a fugitive from Chinese law. In an interview, Emma described the constant fear of the late-night sleeping in a dingy hotel room with | cluded as a fringe benefit. three others and only two beds, of

camping in the courtyard of a dormitory where the nearest toilet seemed like a mile-long march. Emma's crime, so to speak, is being a foreigner in Beijing and

ment buildings specifically designated for foreign residents. On her | in the money, meager salary at a film distribution company, Emnia says she can't afford the astronomical rates charged at the "foreigner" apartments -

starting at about \$2,500 a month bu typically reaching \$6,000. And since she is not a diplomat, she is not allowed to live in the cheaper, subsi dized diplomatic compound. So Emma has joined the growing legion of Beijing's homeless foreign migrants,

"It's very difficult," she said, describing how she has been forced to move eight times in the last two years. "You never know where you're going to be living in six

Some foreigners get by for months, even years, living in lowrent apartments designated for Chinese. This is particularly true of Japanese or Koreans, who can more easily blend in and who find landlords wanting their hard currency.

Apartments for Chinese typically rent for as little as \$100, although shady landlords usually charge foreigners more under a dual pricing

Since Beijing suffers from an acute housing shortage, Chinese residents have apartments assigned to them, based on their "work unit."

But with the new affluence here, many residents with assigned housing invest in spare private apartments, which they rent out for extra rents charged would make Tokyo residents cringe.

Those foreigners caught in the housing crunch often came to pseudonym, because she is a China as students and stayed on to ive from Chinese law. China as students and stayed on to teach, get jobs as journalists, start night police came to search the film the offenders, then forced them their own businesses or work for compound where she was living to go to the station house to register, small companies on local terms knock on the door from police, of meaning that housing is not in-

"My company can't afford to put me in legal, foreign housing," said Raymond Blanchard, an American you go?" she said. The cheapest forconsultant who has lived here for a eigner's apartment she could find year and was just evicted from his rented for about \$1,000 a month and low-rent flat near Beijing's Ritan | was far from her job near the city refusing to live in one of the apart- Park. "They're shooting themselves in the foot. We're the ones bringing | she said.

"For people who just graduated have been awakened by police after or are looking for a job, it's really dif- midnight in raids lasting until dawn. ficult," said a young European woman who asked not to be otherwith her Chinese boyfriend in a Chi- prove they are not living in China illenese-only apartment. She escaped by lumping over a fence and spending the night in a hotel lobby.

"It's really a problem --- where do center. "No way I could afford it," gathered his bags and a pet cal. "It's

Other foreign residents said they have a girlfriend to stay with. I cannot report the loss.

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In some cases, police teams knocking on doors looking for "illegals" gally, and sign a confession.

Blanchard said he discovered he had been evicted after coming home late and finding his apartment door sealed with a new deadbolt lock. When he was told he could not enter even to collect his belongings, he angrily kicked in the door and pretty harsh," he said. "If I didn't

for very long."

An Australian woman was forced out of her apartment when armed police banged on her door at 11:30 one night, as she was in bed reading. She found refuge at the apart ment of a sympathetic journalist.

Some here said an elaborate scam may be at work. In many cases, a shady landlord will allow foreigners to move in if they pay a helty deposit, often six months rent in advance. Then, after the money is paid, the police come and order the foreigner to move out --- and when the evicted foreigner tries to get his money back, he is tokl that the apartment has changed owners Since the lease was illegal in the first place, the evicted foreigner

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does not live up to its author's brav-ery; though marked by Turow's characteristic intelligence and seriousness, it is a flabby, talky enterprise the reading of which entails more labor than pleasure.

novel about the 1960s. That decade, Turow said has "always been my obsession"; the 1960s were "a shaping novel's protagonist, Sandy Stern. in the press box; he writes a nation-period, in some ways as consequen- Now she is 47 years old, "one of a ally syndicated newspaper column book. Like Sonny, almost everyone this he is quite right; the effects of that decade, most but not all of them highly lamentable, are to be found everywhere in American life and presumably will continue to be until Kingdom Come.

County, Turow's fictionalized Chicago. This happens in early September of 1995. Within a week the case has been turned over to Judge that we are dealing here with pure dream." fiction: Since when has "the right to a speedy and public trial" been honored so swiftly in the overcrowded Eddgar, a charismatic and possibly "Having had such high hopes for presumption in writing about these he had fathered five sons out of courtrooms of any major American

wherein she was in practice with the | gone glory years. Weissman now is | world, it is this whiny sense of lost | in a better novel.

tial as World War II and the Depres- half dozen lawyers of established under the nom de plume Michael else in the novel looks back to the sion had been to our parents." In integrity recruited to the state court Frain, His former lover, Sonny Klon- '60s with longing and views the pre- ized the household: He withheld afbench by a Reform Commission sky, is presiding over the case, and sent with a sense of betrayal. It oc- fection from Kweisi and his three created in the wake of the latest his best friend, Hobie Tuttle, is | curs to many of them to blame "the | sisters and beat their mother, Mary. bribery scandal."

As soon as the case begins to unfold, we are presented with a set | Mason," Seth says with a laugh of circumstances so improbable as | when he contemplates the ingredi-The novel is constructed around to test the credulity of even the ents on hand, but unfortunately the drive-by murder of a white most gullible reader. The trial is vir- "The Big Chill Meets Perry Mason" woman in her sixties on a street in a | tually a reunion of a small band of | is exactly what Turow has written: public housing project of Kindle | people who had known each other | half '60s soap opera, half courtroom intimately in the late 1960s and melodrama. The book works on neicarly 1970s in Northern California, ther count. The maunderings of the "figures from [the] past [who] have 60s alumni are tiresome and inconreappeared with everyone written sequential, and the courtroom Sonja "Sonny" Klonsky, which as into new roles, as bizarrely mis- scenes offer little to hold one's at- real feeling. His use of ghetto street world on its best day was a mixtur much as anything else reminds us placed as the characters in a tention. Turow has made a mighty

dgar, is the former wife of Loyal but he simply has failed to do so. lunatic leftist who now represents | the world," Sonny Klonsky won- | people and using their language, or | wedlock. Kindle County in the State Senate. ders, "are we the unhappiest adult his own version thereof. That will be By telling the story of his erratic Sonny Klonsky will be remem- The defendant is their son, Nile, for generation yet?" Though Turow a pity if it comes to pass, but I would learly life. of course, Mfume is bered by readers of Turow's fine whom the aforementioned Seth means us to see how his characters rush more eagerly to his defense aware, and reminds us as well, o second novel, The Burden Of Proof, Weissman had baby-sat in those by- are coping with the changes in their had he done this courageous thing the political utility of memory - of

As She Lay Dying

Howard Frank Mosher FAREWELL, I'M BOUND TO LEAVE YOU By Fred Chappell Picador, 228pp, \$21

▲ N A stormy night in the remote | chapter "The Shooting Woman," Uhill country of western North | Annie recounts to Jess the wonder-Carolina, the aged storyteller and | ful and hilarious saga of her part in | C EVERAL of my favorite stories matriarch Annie Barbara Sorrells his parents' courtship. Years ago, D in the novel explore love in the well into this century, women name to signify his intellectual and lies dying. She is attended by her when Cora Sorrells set her cap for form of friendship - a refreshing caught out in the woods alone were spiritual rebirth, his return to loving daughter, Cora; Cora's hus- the free-spirited Joe Robert, Annie and rather unusual theme in con- routinely "bigged" - raped and school for a GED and then a college band, Joe Robert Kirkman; and instructed her daughter how to win temporary fiction. 'The Fisher- made pregnant by mountainmen degree, his student activism and their son, Jess. "If we lose your Joe's heart - with the aid of a scar- woman" celebrates an unlikely who then, in accordance with this work as a disc jockey, his membergrandmother," Joe Robert tells Jess let silk peticoat, a 12-gauge shot- angling partnership between a fa- barbaric custom, possessed their ship in the Baltimore City Council at the height of the tempest, "a gun, and a wedding-night unveiling therless young girl and a misan- victims for life. world dies with her."

It's true, and what a rich world it you've ever heard of before. is, as remembered by Jess Kirkman and recorded by novelist and poet Fred Chappell in his powerful and linked family stories, in the tradition entertaining new novel. In Farewell, of such novels as Amy Tan's The

nature, of community, of music and tradition and vividly idiomatic lan- heroine, Ginger Summerell, packs a cows and sheep got better doctoring | ple) - to the poor and the racial guage and, most important, of one revolver. When Ginger's fiance be- than people did" and better treat- oppressed. Thus, Mfume's narrative another.

To begin with, there's the abiding | riage and commitment, she actually love of Annie Barbara for her near challenges him to a duel with his tality in Chappell's stories; and feat him - becomes a blueprint for and extended family. In the early choice of pistol, rifle, revolver, or we're never allowed to forget that racial reconstruction. like none (and this I'll guarantee) thropic old fly-caster with a

is structured as a collection of poots." I'm Bound To Leave You, Chappell Joy Luck Club and Louise Erdrich's tion between two women of utterly ries from folklore to literature is the can myth of racial uplift. has created an entire self-contained Love Medicine. Courtship is a re- opposing personalities: stately Se- author's passionate affection for his universe of isolated hollows and tiny current theme throughout the lena Mellon, who never utters "so characters, combined with his sor- rise so high from ashes so deep? farm hamlets, inhabited by moun- novel. Chappell uses his enormous much as a lonesome syllable," and row over their passing. From the he asks. And looking upon the faces tain people like Annie Barbara, fund of Southern folklore and wild, redheaded Lexie Courland, in legacy of their lives, Fred Chappell' of young gang members loitering whose like won't be seen again, in humor with great skill in such sto- "her flaming forties," who if she has created the most affecting work on a street corner, he muses: the American South or anywhere ries as "The Shining Woman," in likes the looks of a man is "after him of fiction about place and love that I "These kids are not beyond rescue clse. Above all, this is a place whose which Little Mary Talbot, neglected like a chicken hawk on a hatchling." have read since A River Runs or redemption any more than they natives are linked by love: love of and unrequited in her loveless At the same time. Chappell Through It.

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counsel for the defense.

"The Big Chill Meets Perry The murdered woman, June Ed- within a believable fictional setting,

gins to panic over the idea of mar- ment as well. knife, to defend her honor.

"The Silent Woman" chronicles the mysterious and enduring affec-

laws of our fathers," but to no one to But eventually in 1959, he left. blame themselves.

include the black residents of the enthusiastic embrace of the survival Grace Street Projects, where the ethic of the tough ghetto streets of murder takes place and where vari- West Baltimore, where the family ous witnesses at the trial and other moved when he was 12. When participants in the story reside; they | Mfume was 16, Mary died of cancer have no reason to look back senti- in her son's arms. The trauma of her mentally upon the 1960s.

Turow has captured the despair | Mfume's life that would take the betand hopelessness of their lives with ter part of a decade to reverse."My dialect is extensive and presumably of scheming, gaming, hustling, and effort to address serious matters | accurate. It seems reasonable to as- | brawling. I was going nowhere fast sume, though, that sooner or later | and chasing after things that would Turow is going to catch hell for his | never last." By the time he was 22.

claim the attention due her from her | and its people. Often enough, in the | - as newly elected president of the hard-bitten husband; and "The Carolina hill country of Annie Bar- NAACP (National Association for Feistiest Woman," whose two-fisted bara Sorrell's youth, "horses and the Advancement of Colored Peo

the love that binds his characters together is constantly threatened by memoir that detail his transformaviolence, in a region where, until tion - his choice of a Ghanaian

temperament "as barbed as black- row that makes most of us poets," Congressional Black Caucus, and Farewell, I'm Bound to Leave You berries and as gnarly as willow Cora Sorrells Kirkman tells young his new position with the NAACP-Jess in "The Wind Woman," a mar- | are about still another fusion: of the velous evocation of a mother's love American myth of individual selffor her son, What elevates these sto- reinvention, and the African-Amer-

WEISE MFUME is an Individ Lual we can, and should, admire His life story as told in No Free Ride is in many ways a classically American one: A soul seemingly destined for failure - born poor, living or the wrong side of town, in a family with no education - interrupts his fate by rallying against misfortune and then lands on top of a world that

1948. Dubbed "Pee Wee" by an aunt for his diminutive stature, he spent the first 12 years of his life in Turner's Station, "an all-black, bluecollar town perched quietly on the western shore of the Chesapeake

From the start, however, there was trouble. Mfume's father terror-

But Mary's hopes for her only "Almost everyone else" does not | son would be greatly delayed by his death spurred a downward spiral in

how the past always has a future. It's clear that he's viewing the past, and his own painful pilgrimage, through marriage, returns from the grave to doesn't romanticize his special place the lens of his present commitmen of personal transformation - of de There isn't a speck of sentimen- feating the forces that are out to de-

In this light, the parts of Mfume's and the U.S. Congress, where he al-"It is passionate affection or sur- most single-handedly revived the

"What was it that caused me lo are beyond hope or help."

GUARDIAN WEEKLY November 3 1996

Taking the metropolitan line on urban decay

The rejuvenation of inner city areas is not only socially and economically desirable, it is the only the way forward, argues **Richard Thomas**

NCE, cities were synonymous with achievement, progress and enlightenment. Today, cities - or more particularly those areas cursed with the prefix "inner" - conjure up pictures of stressed-out infrastructures, poverty, instability, congestion, riots, dirt and despair. Stir in some US-inspired "underclass" ideology and the modern urban brew seems noxious indeed.

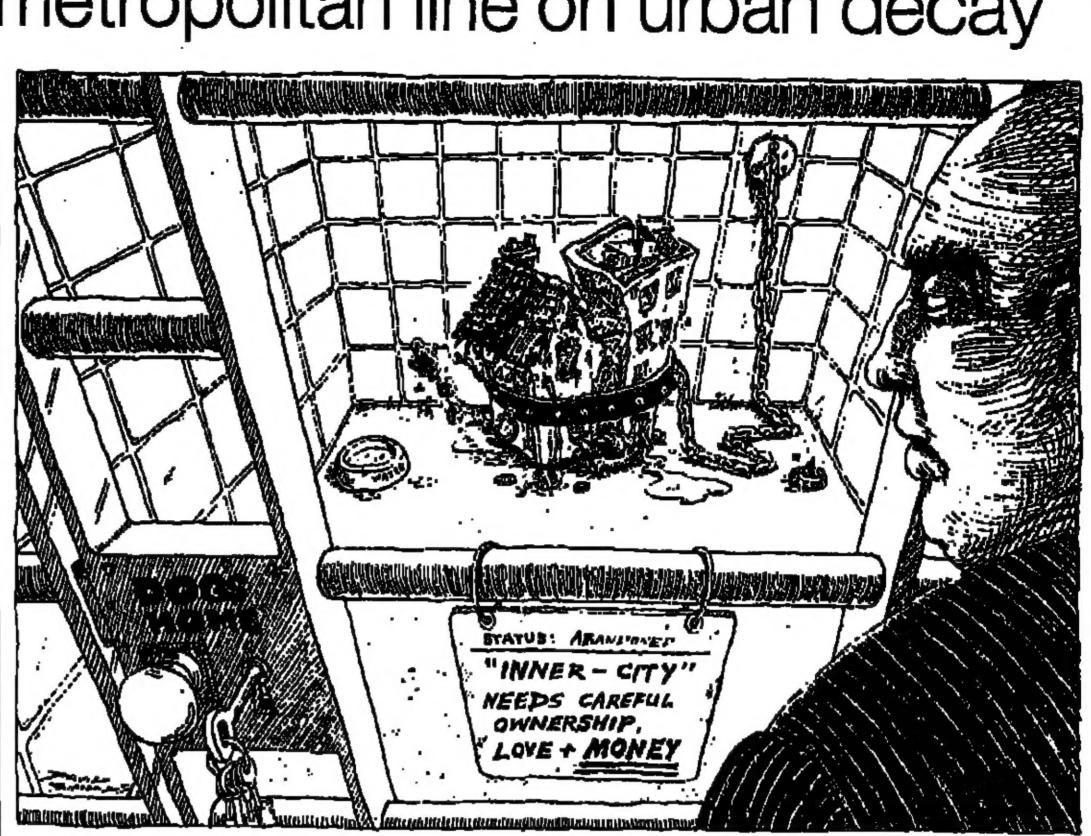
What went wrong? Why are cities sliced into areas of extreme deprivation? At first sight, the answer seems to be contained in one word: de-industrialisation. As the concentrations of industrial capital, which fuelled the 19th century urbanisation of the West, dried up in the face of foreign competition, manufacturing jobs disappeared the 30 years after 1961.

self, but its impact on the political | didn't need the central city. ing class in two.

ilies were enticed out to new towns | is pouring in. with grants, or to the London suburbs with 100 per cent mortgages.

are 10 stops down the Tube line.

Essex Man was born, and he voted Tory. The historian Eric Hobs- versity, in his new book*. bawm has pinpointed the post-war tween inner-city losers and depart- urban cause have risen with the in- United States shows that in the long Blackwell at £12.99



was not inevitable, even in the face with their shrinking constituencies inner city. of massive economic restructuring. and miserable turnouts. So long as There are three reasons for this. vided into separate entities. What sealed the fate of the urban they had the suburbs, market towns First, there are no political institu-

The proud, skilled working class | cases, begun to rise again. New en- mote, the Greater London Council | rate of growth was twice as great. packed their bags and sought out gines of capital accumulation - in- and its equivalents are defunct. new jobs in light industry on green- ternational finance houses,

ments, and for all the residents: to says Professor Harvey, insulated from the trials of their for- buildings and fine art galleries, too. the restorative powers of the market strategy. mer neighbours — the unskilled But they should not replace more and conservative views on the and the new wave of immigrants, aggressive social and economic poli- "moral" roots of poverty and crime. left behind in sink council estates. It | cies. "Aesthetics are in danger of reis hard to care for poor when they | placing ethics in urban policy," | cal imperative to "do something" warns David Harvey, professor of about Britain's urban wastelands, it geography at Johns Hopkins Uni- is expressed in demands for heavier

Most importantly, hopes of a gen- This is a short-sighted approach. "crumbling of the labour block", be- uine political commitment to the Research by David Rusk in the of Difference is published by

policing, strategies of containment.

yards and shipbuilders gave up the success of Margaret Thatcher, who tion is well established. Loft living is politan areas stand or fall together. movies as it unveiled a \$9,3 bitghost, and the flight from city to built a new coalition between the trendy. But, to judge from the state- He contrasts US cities where the lion plan to merge with three suburb began in earnest. Liver- middle class and the aspirant work- ments of the main political parties, inner and outer rings have been rival cable television companies. pool's population almost halved in | ing class. This alliance was the death | the reurbanisation of the vanguards | part of the same political region warrant of the central cities. Sud- of Middle England has so far failed "elastic cities" - allowing for reflic-But the decline of the inner city denly there were no votes in cities, to reawaken real concern for the tribution and strategic economic ATIONAL SAVINGS has policy, and metropolitan areas di-

core was not de-industrialisation it- and villages, the Conservatives tions through which Britain's urban nesota and Connecticut, overall ecomiddle class can offer help to the nomic growth between 1949 and counting system. The UK govand class landscape. Decoupling in- Now, though, there are signs of urban poor. Local councils are too 1989 was 40 per cent faster than in dustry from the city split the work- hope. The populations of central city constrained, and cover too small an such "inelastic areas" as Baltimore areas have stabilised and, in some area, national government is too re- or Chicago. In the central cities, the

Mr Rusk says this is because Second, even though the bour- poverty is ultimately more expenfield sites or service-sector firms in consultancies - have arrived in geoisie are in the cities, they gener- sive than poverty prevention, and the suburbs or new towns. Govern- town, Dockland areas are being ally occupy different fragments because competitive strategies ment policies encouraged this. Fam- spruced up and inward investment from the poor. They do not drink in based on metro-wide networks and the same pubs. "They seal them- partnership are more likely to suc-These are welcome develop- selves off from the rest of the city," | ceed in the global economy than a "city versus suburbs" competition. Ensconced in their new suburban | say that they do nothing to help the | But most important of all, 17 | Managing a deepening urban divide | the US, unveiled net profits of and commuter-town homes, the up- poor, as many leftwing critics do, is years of Tory rule have resulted in with deepening rows of police on wardly-mobile working class were | patronising. Poor people like clean | an almost universal acceptance of | the frontiers is not a sustainable

But the real reason for "doing | whole of 1995. something about the inner cities" is In as much as there is any politi- neither because it is economic nor because it will reduce crime - although it will probably do both ---but simply because it is right.

"Justice, Nature and the Geography

Rich cargo for a wheeler-dealer

Jon Henley in Helsinki

available: 11,000 pairs of Indonesian ones get stuck here every week." plastic shoes, 44,000 packets of

post-communist Russia, Reima | Tuomikoski gets there first. Tuomikoski, a wheeler-dealing Fin-

Fozen chicken legs, plus 20 hundred container loads in the last and forgets the whole thing. I look of beer stranded in Kotka port.

company. In a novel spin-off from | auction them to pay the shipping | worth some \$25 million last year. the boom in Western exports to company's bill - but not if Mr

hand," Mr Tuomikoski said last | bring the stuff here and wait for the | shipping company, which otherwise | so little sense."

shipping company."

Because the goods are not ping in Beverly Hills." cleared for sale in Finland or the Eu-

pensively, destroyed. Occasionally, deals fall through. week, "Finland says it's the gateway | freight bill to be paid. In the mean- | The Stroh brewery of Michigan and to Russia, but we're actually its time, of course, the Russian tries to shipping line OOCL are themselves COR SALE: 400 tonnes of deep- warehouse. I've sold two or three sell the goods to someone else, fails deciding the fate of 5 million bottles

tonnes of chicken frankfurters. Also | couple of years, and 20 or 30 new | for a new buyer, and pay off the | Often he uncovers money laundering. "Two containers came in

According to Finnish customs, The difference between the last year with fully-paid involces for finest Ceylon tea and 20 tonnes of 1,200 containers are stranded in freight bill and the sale price - nearly \$1 million," he said. "They Ecuadorian instant coffee. Special | Finnish ports at any one time be | minus a few expenses - is Mr | turned out to contain two clappedoffer: 133,000 Indian girls' blouses. | cause their Russian importers can- | Tuomikoski's profit, about which he | out compressors worth \$3,000. and It may not be your average prod- not or will not pay the freight is exceptionally coy. He will reveal neither the US exporter or the Russuct line, but this is not your average | charges. After a year, Customs can | that he sold "distressed goods" | lan buyer existed. I guess some mafia boss wanted cash to go shop-

As one of the few to benefit from "What usually happens is the ropean Union, he finds new buyers the cavalier antics of Russia's new nish entrepreneur, has cornered a Russian pays the manufacturer up from all over Russia, Estonia or businessmen, Mr Tuomikoski reck lucrative and entirely new market front for the goods," he said. "Be- Latvia. Sometimes he finds some- ons he'll be coining it in for some - in the stuff that never gets there. | cause the shipping companies know | one who will take it for free and | time to come. "Those Russians." he "It's beginning to get out of Russian businessmen by now, they pockets a substantial fee from the said happily, "so many roubles, and

would have to get it safely, and ex-

In Brief

HE Government could be forced to repay \$310 million after losing the latest battle over Valued Added Tax, when the **Buropean Court of Justice ruled** that Customs & Excise was wrong to charge it on the full price of goods sold at a discount.

FINANCE

C AINSBURY ratcheted up the UK supermarket wars when it unveiled plans to become a fully fledged bank. In partnership with the Bank of Scotland the retailer has applied to the Bank of England for a full banking licence.

HARGES levied on airlines U by the British Airports Authority for the use of Gatwick, Heathrow and Stansted must be cut by \$232.5 million over the next five years, the Civil Aviation Authority announced.

ABLE & WIRELESS has Pledged to slash the cost of UK phone charges and provide on-line viewers with everything The steelworks, textile firms, dock- ing winners, as a key factor in the flux of the middle class: gentrifica- run, the rich and poor bits of metro- from Internet access to the latest

> cratic bungling after the National In "elastic" metros, such as Min- Audit Office uncovered serious weaknesses in the body's acernment's savings organisation. which safeguards investments worth \$15.5 billion, is increasingly vulnerable to fraud and errors, for which taxpayers might have to pay, the NAO said.

> > **IOLKSWAGEN**, whose chief W executive, Ferdinand Plech. has been summoned to answer industrial espionage charges in 8296 million for the first nine months of the year, some 40 per cent more than it made in the

A NEBRASKA-BASED gener-Aating company, Cal Energy, has launched a hostile \$1.2 billion bid for Northern Electric, which could leave a third of England's power supply firms in American hands.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES				
	Starling rates Cotober 28	Sterling rates October 21		
Aunvalla	2,0245-2.0264	1 9937-1.9962		
Austria	17.23-17.25	17.17-17.19		
Belgum	50.41-50 50	50.29-50,38		
Canada	2.1680-2 1681	2.1433-2.1455		
Denmark	9.39-9.40	9.34-9.36		
France	8.27-8 27	8 25-8.26		
Gormany	2.4495-2.4521	2.4419-2.4446		
Hong Kong	12.40-12.40	12.29-12.30		
Ireland	0.9908-0.9927	0 9919-0,0338		
liely	2,461-2,465	2,437-2,440		
Japan	184.08-184 29	179.19-179.42		
Netherlands	2.7476-2.7508	2.7397-2.7422		
New Zealand	2 2840-2 2871	2.2285-2.2314		
Norway	10.34-10.35	10.34-10.35		
Portugal	247.24-247.55	246.07-246.38		
Spain	208.27-208.45	205.41-205.62		
Sweden	10.59-10.61	10.61-10.53		
Bwitzerland	2.0303-2.0330	2.0099-2.0123		
USA	1.6118-1.0120	1.5900-1.6910		
ECU .	1.2773-1.2788	1.2705-1.2720		
FT28 100 Share Index down 47.8 at 4028.8. F788 450 Index down 8.8 at 4443.1. Gold up \$ 1.76 at \$368.00.				

- 7

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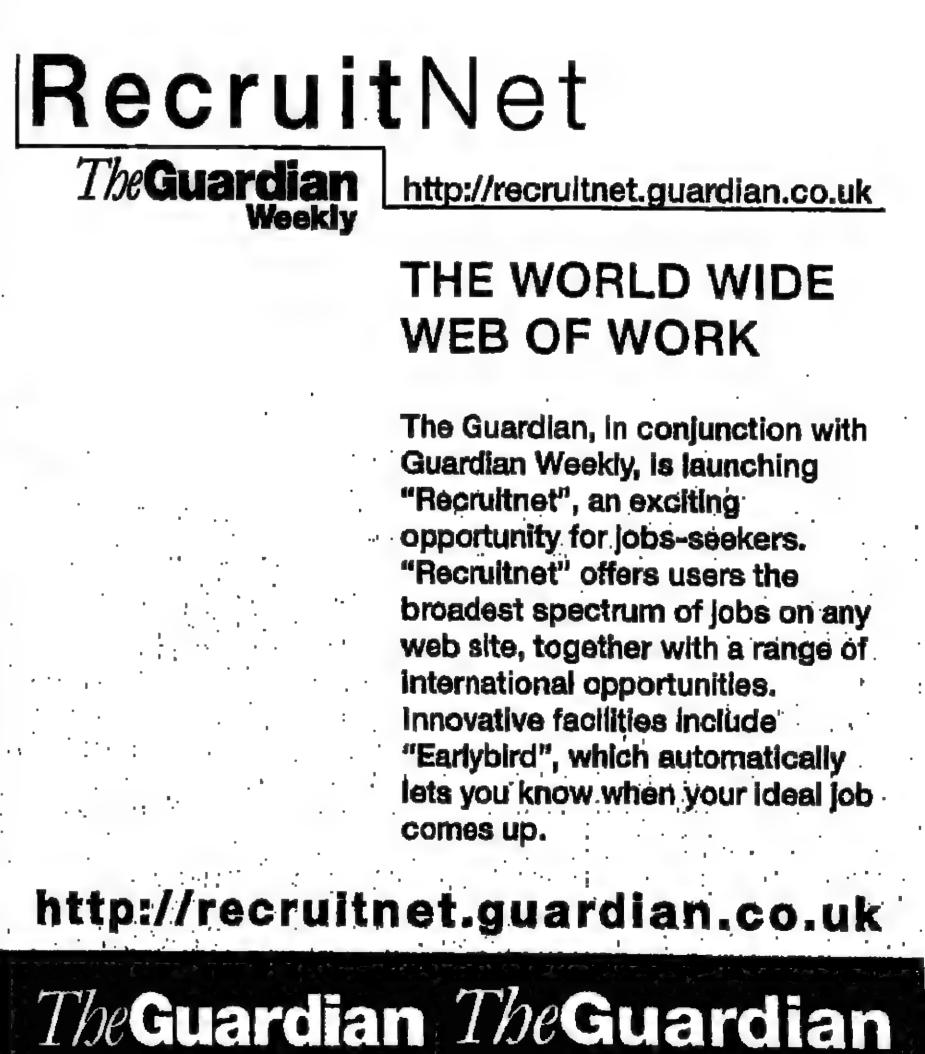
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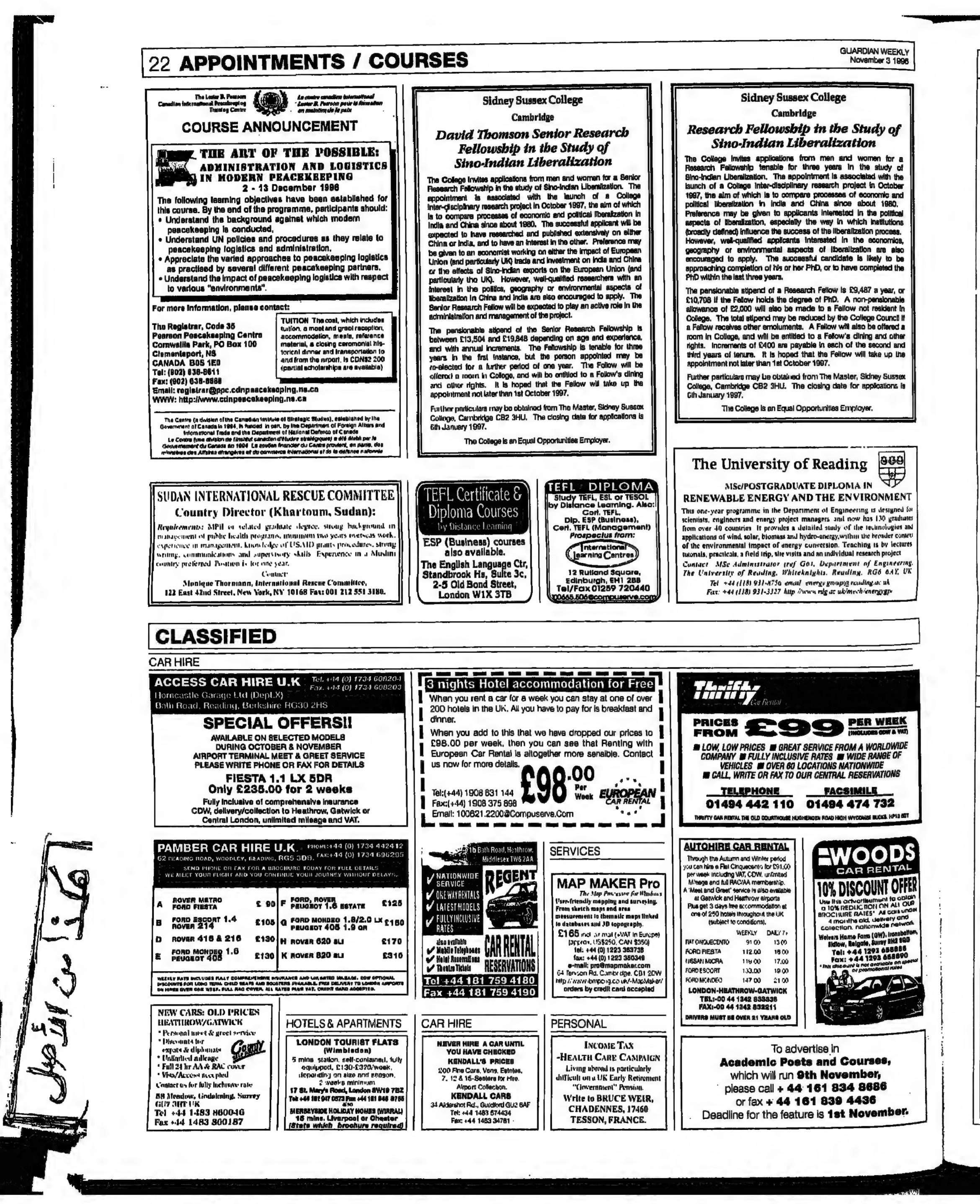
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Weekly



History's terrible timing

What if the Hungarian uprising and Suez had not happened together, asks Matthew Engel

. . .

METIMES it just rains hisfory. This may be a matter of simple, ecric coincidence. The writers Aldous Huxley and CS Lewis died within hours of each other on November 22, 1963, but the obituarists hardly noticed; it was the day President Kennedy was assassinated. On the night of October 15, 1964, Sir Alec Douglas-Home and Nikita Khrushchey - men with little in common - both fell from power, the day before China exploded its first atom bomb.

Forty years ago this week, two

great dramas of the post-war era launched their assault on the Suez the Hungarians who were deceived: came to a crisis - Suez, and the So- | Canal, recently nationalised by Presi- | the CIA director, Allen Dulles, said viet invasion of Hungary. History is | dent Nasser. It seems likely that two | there had been "a miracle". usually considered in straight lines. Litems of news reached Moscow on But reality is more messy. It was es- the afternoon of October 30: Nagy's than three years, and the tyranny outcome. It is possible to hypothe- Nasser, since Britain and France emphasis on consumer goods the Soviet Union. sise that if there had been no war in were colluding with Israel. the Middle East, the next 33 years of would have been very different.

one fortnight. On October 23, 1956, that the Hungarians would have to response of the Hungarians was a with their bare hands. By October took control of the country. Nagy's ened a little. 26, the reformer Imre Nagy was in last despairing message ended: "I power and promising democratisa- hereby inform the people of Hun- Soviet leader, had demounced Stalin. tion. There was no immediate Soviet | gary and world opinion of the situa- | In April, he had visited Britain with | substantial body of thought in the the Times proclaimed: "The Hun- distracted, garian people are winning. They

GUARDIAN WEEKLY November 3 1998



Khrushchev . . . 'could not take defeats in Egypt and Hungary'

transform far more than Hungary."

spair and courage and unity, [they] sians would never voluntarily allow British, he would vote Tory. Thou- kind of moral authority.

have wrought a change that will | one of their subject nations its freedom but it did not seem that way in

> Stalin had been dead for more rather than heavy industry, a partial

mously rehabilitated.

Post-Stalinism was not yet in the he might have got away with it. And what if the West had been able to 1945 they were profoundly guilty." concentrate?

There was another complication. President Eisenbower was dealing November: he was up for re-election the Washington officials' fury about Britain's behaviour seems to have been generated by their belief that it had complicated the president's most urgent concern. It now seems extraordinary that a US president could effectively repudiate Israel, as Eisenhower did, days before an But that night the Israelis 1956. It was not only the Times and election. But in 1956, the Jewish vote was so overwhelmingly Democratic that it was hardly a factor in the Republicans' calculations.

Public opinion was looking elsewhere. There was a huge protest in pecially messy as October turned to decision to abolish the one-party sys-November in 1956. The question tem, and the ultimatum of the British early 1950s had been mitigated. Trafalgar Square, but this was that has never been answered (and prime minister, Sir Anthony Eden, to Nagy had come to power in Hun- gary. It is hard to believe that in nor-

But the western alliance was On October 31, Britain and reversal of collectivisation, and a riven. And it was hardly in a position Communist rule in eastern Europe France began bombing Egyptian downgrading of everything Russian. to exert any moral authority against airfields. By that time the Soviet Nagy had been ousted in 1955 and the Communists. The Soviet Union Many events were crammed into Praesidium appears to have decided his liberalisation checked. But the was accusing Britain of barbarism Bulganin cabled Eden; "We are the Hungarians, encouraged by anti- be crushed. Before dawn on No- classic example of the way revolu- tilled with determination to use Soviet unrest in Poland, rose in re- vember 4, 15 Soviet armoured divi- tionary pots are more likely to boil force to crush the aggressors." volt. Young people attacked tanks sions, equipped with 6,000 tanks, over when their lids have been loos- "Oblivious of Hungary," Eden wrote sadly in his memoirs, "the Russians In February 1956, Khrushchev, as felt they could snarl with the pack." And so they could. There was a

response. On October 29, a leader in tion." World opinion was somewhat the premier. Nikolai Bulganin, world that the real danger to world preaching mutual co-existence. The peace came from Britain's reversion There now seems to be a histori- B and K Show had been the media to imperialist bossiness, rather than have broken the gates of their prison cal inevitability about the invasion of event of the year. Khrushchev had from Nasser or Khrushchev. So the . armed with little but their de- Hungary. We assume that the Rus- reportedly said that if he were west had no chance to exert any

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sands of Stalin's prisoners were released or, if that was too late, nosthu-

• •

. . .

This argument formed part of the Commons attack on Eden by Labour leader Hugh Gaitskell. If Suez had tilted the balance towards Russian straitjacket it would wear for the intervention in Hungary, he considnext three decades. If Nagy had not ered the Government's action inexoverplayed his hand by declaring cusable: "If in any way Britain had withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact, destroyed the most hopeful, encouraging and heart-raising events since

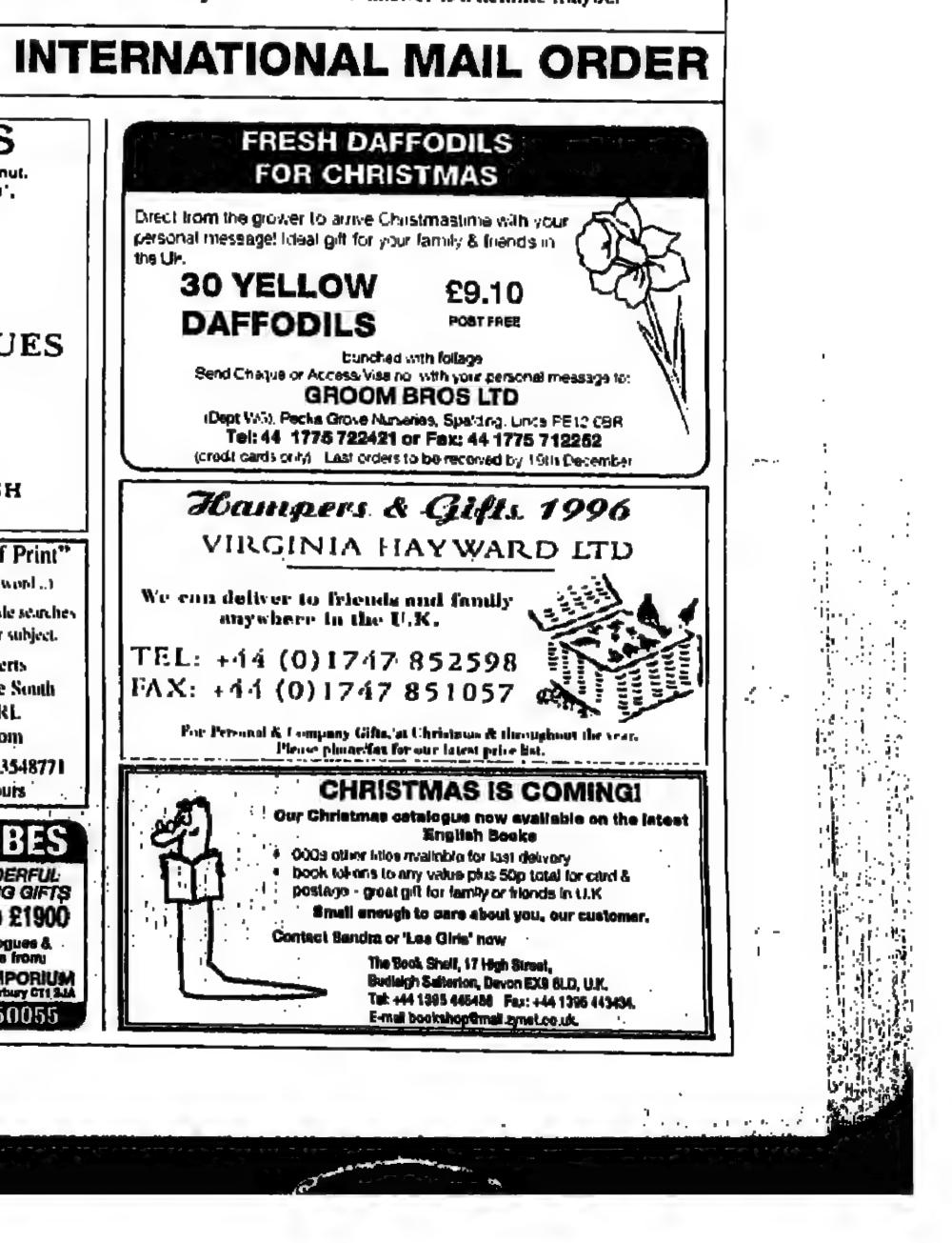
FEATURES 23

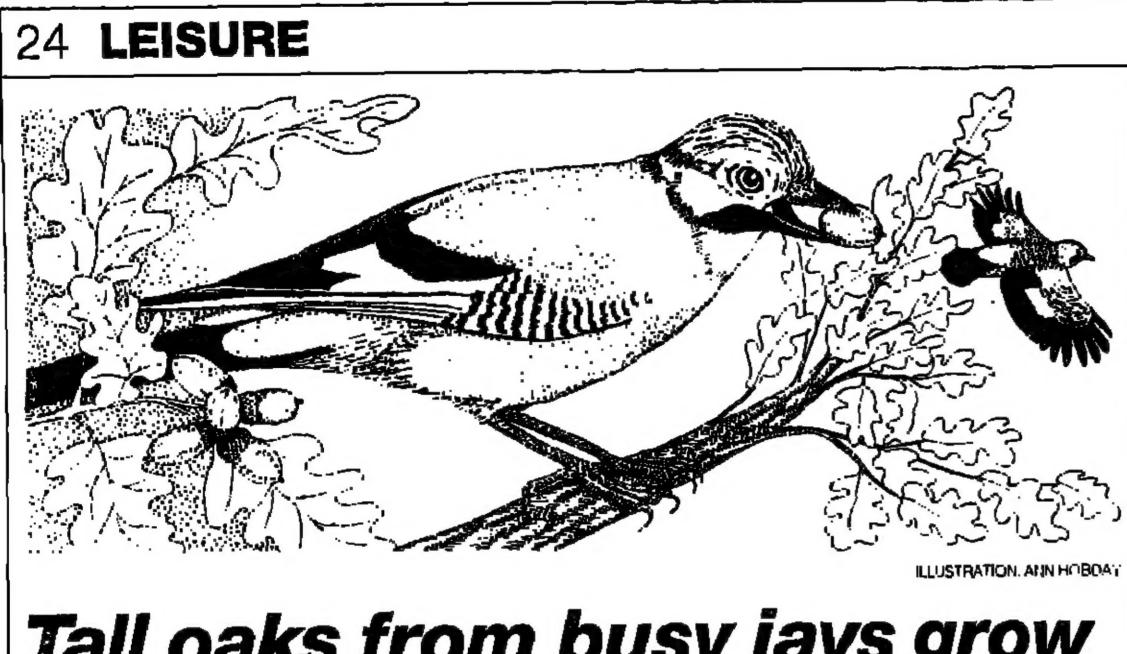
Sir William Hayter, Britain's ambassador in Moscow, thought the Soviet leadership was hopelessly with the little matter that sends US | split between the strong-armers and policy into narcolepsy every fourth | liberals. He suspected Khrushchev might originally have wanted to on November 6, Indeed, much of hold off in Hungary to strengthen Soviet moral authority over Suez,

But Nasser was a Soviet ally. And Moscow could do nothing to help him without a precipitating a world war, "The Soviet government could not do much for Egypt," Hayter wrote later, "and could not take two simultaneous defeats. Egypt and Hungary,*

E *I E NOW* have a few fragments of first-hand information to suide us further. Notes made at the time by a Kremlin apparatchik, V N Malin, are quoted by Timothy Garton Ash in the latest New York Review of rarely posed) is to what extent the the warring parties in the Middle gary in 1953 and embarked on what mal times opinion would not have Books, "If we depart from Huntiming of these events affected their East - effectively an ultimatum to was known as the New Course; an reacted far more forcefully against gary." Khrushchev supposedly said, "it will give a great boost to the Americans, English and French the innocrialists. They will perceive it as weakness on our part and will they will then add Hungary."

The world did avoid a complete catastrophe in the week that ranks with the Cuba crisis of 1962 as the most dangerous in post-war history. And whatever the rights and wrongs of Britain's intervention at Suez, it is unlikely that the past 40 years in the Middle East would have gone very differently. By November 8, Britain and France were backing down. But could an alternative scenario have saved eastern Europe from 33 of the last 40 years under tyranny? The answer is a definite maybe.





Tall oaks from busy jays grow

Mark Cocker

HROUGHOUT history the common name for one of the most widesuread members of the crow family has had curiously mixed associations. For the English subjects of Henry VIII, for example, ern usage we retain something of these negative connotations when 1 we talk of the thoughtless pedestrian "jay-walking".

they knew better. The citizens of Athens and Rome were sensitive to the birds' beauty and were accus-- nomed to keep them as pets tigy is, in-Let, a corruption of the latin prachomen, Gains, which is retained more completely in the modern French name, Gcai des chénes). They were equally aware of the jays' capacity to master Greek and Roman pronunciation, and regularly taught time they were apparently familiar with the behaviour that most indihabit of storing food for the winter.

Japan westwards to the Pacific coast of North America, jays and their | billion acorns a year.

close relatives have been busy caching thousands of tonnes of food. In fact, it is this brief but intense burst of activity that converts a normally shy bird into a highly visible element of the autumn landscape. At present in Norfolk, jays seem to be member all their stores and it has everywhere, flying between belts of also been shown that a high proporthe word "jay" was a pejorative term | oak with their curiously bounding. | tion of oaks derive from nuts meaning either a simpleton or a per- almost butterfly-like action, or hop- planted by jays. Moreover, during son in gaudy costume. Even in mod- ping beneath the trees, scalding us the burying process birds favour with their harsh calls that account for one of many old country names, the devil-scritch.

All this intense activity is devoted In the classical period, however, 1 to a single crop - acorns. The birds store them in a specially distensible pouch beneath the tangue and then fly to a suit where the ground is soft enough for the acorns to be buried Carrying as many as nine acorns, a hird will travel more than 4km to tind exactly the right sort of storage area. Soulies reveal that an individual bird makes up to 60 of these journeys a day, and during the auturnn months stores away about birds to speak. As early as Aristotle's 5,000 acorns. This is an impressive figure, but it is the total number planted by all Europe's jays that cated the jays' intelligence - the | find even more exciting. Working from known western European nop-Over the past month, all across | ulations, excluding Italy and the the northern hemisphere, from Iberian peninsula, i calculate that jays are burying in the region of 20

They compound this feat of economic prodence with a gift for memorising exactly where they have left their harvest, sometimes digging through 40cm of snow to retrieve it. However, they never reopen areas where they can keep a 1 Pass sham lookout for predators — a location all the more beneficial for the surviving saplings.

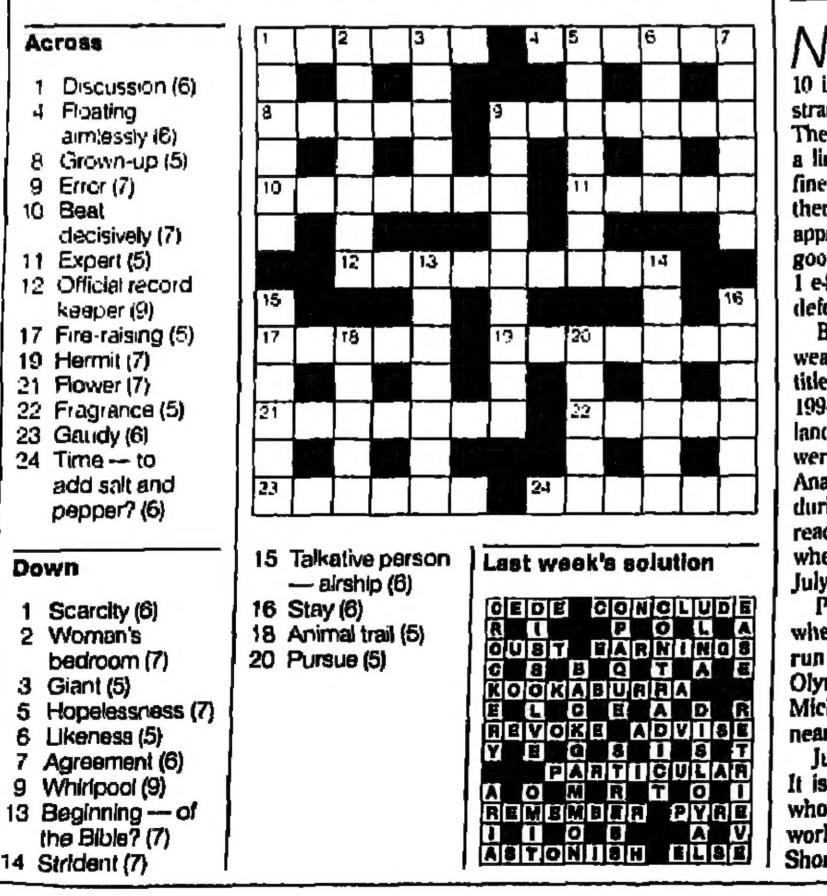
Different members of the crow family have parallel relationships with other trees. In northern Russia, for example, nutcrackers do much the same with the seeds of arolla and Siberian stone pines. In North America the pinyon iay has a symbiotic relationship with the pinyon pine, while Clark's nuterackers have a mutual dependence on a range of pine species.

It always strikes me as deeply sad that an aspect of the jays' behaviour far better known is their predation of the eggs and young of soughirds. But next time you're upset by the jays' slaughter of these helpless nestlings, or irritated by their painfully loud. screeching call, remember, a good deal of the world's temperate forests are planted by them.



when the out-of-form Short made a run of draws at last month's Yerevan Olymplad, so did Adams; and when | 1 e4 c6 2 d4 d5 3 e5 Bf5 4 Nf3 e6 5 near the end, so did Nigel.

S 0 0 S



GUARDIAN WEEKL November 3 1996

Bridge Zia Mahmood

I'M OFTEN asked favourite contract to play is. Of course, it's wonderful as well a profitable to bring home a grand slam. But games and part scores are very often more difficult to play than grand slams. And since I play bridge for the intellectual challenge I'd say that my favourite contract is one that struggles home after I've given it my best shot against a to one against. tough defence.

Like this one. Benito Garozzo was my lefthand opponent, the Omar Sharif World Individual Championship was the occasion This was my problem as South after a simple auction:

	 ♦ A K ♥ J 8 4 ♦ A Q ♥ A 5 	4	
	♦ Q 9		
	♥ K 6	5	
	♦ 10 S	754	
	¢QJ	10	
Vest Jarozzo	North	East	Sout Zia
	10	Pass	1NT
ass	3NT	Pass	Pass

Benito led the ten of hearts, which went to the four, three and king. It looked easy enough -- I had a heart trick in the bank, four diamonds after knocking out the king. at least three spades and at least one club. Of course, if the opponents could eash enough hearts to heat me after I gave up the king of diamonds, then I would go down - but there wasn't anything I could do about that. So I played a diamond I the jack at the second trick. It held, What now?

I could cross back to the gueen of spades and repeat the diamond East had cleverly ducked on the pecting anyway! first round. I would have no entry to my diamond winners. Perhaps I Zia Mahmood's paperback original, should play the ace and queen of Ask Zia: Your Top 50 Bridge diamonds, trusting to a 4-3 heart Questions Answered, is published break should the king of diamonds | by Metro Books at £5.99

not fall under the ace. Yes, that looked good.

But suppose that Benito had begun with four diamonds to the king as West? Now, if I played ace queen of diamonds he would duck, and I would be an entry short to establish my diamonds. I would have to rely on a 3-3 spade break and I wanted better olds than two

Suddenly I saw it. The perfect play! I led the queen of diamonds from the table without cashing the ace. If the queen of diamonds lost, had nine tricks as before. But if was allowed to win, then I could establish the spade suit by giving up a trick there - I would make four spades, a heart, three diamonds and a club. The play looked unnatural almost grotesque - but it wasn't. It was the reason I play this game. This was the full deal:

• AK643

9184 ♦ AQJ ⊉A5

\$ 11082

V A32

S K8763

2 8

♠ 75 ¥Q1097 • K632 6645

4 Q 9 V K 65 109754 40110

The cards lay as I had feared -West had four diamonds to the king. and the spades did not break 3-3 But there was nothing the detenders could do, as you'll see if you take the time to analyse the play.

I don't think that any other hand has given me quite as much pleasure as this one. So I guess you'd say that three no trumps was my favourite contract. But I intagine finesse - but if that lost because that was the answer you were ex-

Chess Leonard Barden

strange affinity in their results. There's no obvious reason for such a link, since although both have a fine understanding of strategy, there are also big differences in approach: Short has won many

But both scraped through against

July 1996 world list. Perhaps it's not surprising that

tween them at the élite all-play-alls which top GMs enjoy so much.

This unusual stalemate or dy- Resigns. namic balance looks set to end soon good games against the Caro-Kann | with the rise of Matthew Sadler. The 1 e4 c6, which is Adams's favourite | Olympiad gold medallist, aged 22, is two years Adams's junior, nine years younger than Short. His Fide weaker opponents in the PCA world rating performance at Yerevan was title quarter-finals in New York | more than 2750 points and his cur-1994; were in good form for Eng- | rent overall rating is over 2650, only land at the 1994 Moscow Olympiad; some 30-40 points behind them. were crushed in the PCA semis by How the creative and sporting ten-Anand and Kamsky; and recovered sion of a trio rather than a duo in 4 during 1995-96, simultaneously contention for places in the declinreaching their all-time rating peak ing number of top tournaments when they were juxtaposed in Fide's affects each player remains to be seen.

Short v Yudashin

Michael managed two wins in a row Be2 Ne7 6 0-0 Bg6 7 c3 Nd7 8 Nh4 c5 9 Nd2 Rc8 10 Nxg6 hxg6 11 Nf3 Just coincidence? I don't think so. | Qb6 12 Rb1 a6 13 b4 cxd4 14 cxd4 | problem. It is psychologically hard for GMs | Nf5 15 g4 Nh4 16 Nxh4 Rxh4 17 b5 who have been near the peak of a5 18 Be3 f5 19 Rc1 Rb8 20 Bg5 No 2444: 1 Ne3. If Kxd2 2 Bb2 world chess — a title match for Rh7 21 gxf5 exf5 22 Bf3 Be7 23 Qd2 Ke1 3 Bc3. If b2 2 Rd1. If Kb1 2 Short, a semi-final for Adams - to | Bxg5 24 Qxg5 Rh6 25 Qf4 Rd8 26 | Rd1+ Ka2 3 Ra1.

A IIGEL SHORT and Michael | maintain a consistent level of work | Bxd5 Nf8 27 Rc5 Nd7 28 Rc2 Nf8 29 V Adams, ranked number 9 and | and effort when there is no major | Rc5 Nd7 30 Rc4 Qxb5 31 Bg8 Rh8 10 in the world, have developed a goal ahead. So they are a foil for one 32 Qg51 Rxg8 33 Qxg6+ Ke7 34 another, and the even balance is re- | Qd6+ Ke8 35 Qe6+ Kf8 36 Rfc1 Qb6 flected in the split of invitations be- 37 Qxf5+ Ke7 38 d5 Qh6 39 d6+ Ke8 40 e6 Nf6 41 Rc8 Qh5 42 Rxd8+ Kxd8 43 e7+ Ke8 44 Rc8+

. 8 A A A 2 abodetgh

White mates in three moves, against any defence. Many solvers have been defeated by this fine old

No 2445

GUARDIAN WEEKLY November 3 1996

New look fits Old Bill

CPLOD and his old Prussian helmet will soon be on the last patrol, writes David Rose, Police uniforms for the next millennium will mark the most dramatic change in the appearance of British bobbles since their foundation by Sir Robert Peel in 1828,

Robocop it is not, but the new kit incorporates the latest technology. "Magic T-shirts" worn next to the skin, will stop a bullet or a knife. The new round helmet, in polystyrene and plastic, will have a built-in radio microphone and will resist the force of a baseball bat.

For women officers an old embarrassment will be ended at last: villains will no longer be able to see through their shirts, and for the first time they will wear trousers on patrol.

The new look should be seen throughout Britain in 1998. The biggest breakthrough is the "covert protective vest", capable of withstanding a knife attack or bullet fired from a .357mm pistol. It replaces cumbersome and

be worn outside clothing. It will be light, flexible and almost unnoticeable under a shirt.

There will be fleece blousons like those worn by mountaineers and tough weatherproof jackets. Since radios will be concealed within the helmet and clothing the only items to be worn on the new utility belts will be handcuffs and a baton.

The old helmet, modelled on a Prussian army style, has been worn since 1863. It is a powerful icon of the police in England - though not in Scotland, where it was abandoned in 1935. But it has some nasty tricks. It falls off detested designs which can only when an officer breaks into a

run and fails British standards of impact absorption: officers are at serious risk of fractured skulls from assaults.

The traditional helmet and uniform will be maintained for ceremonial areas, such as Downing Street and the Houses of Parliament. - The Observer



From PC Plod to PC Mod via the laughing policeman, to the Victorian copper of 1870, into the 1950s and now on to a new millennium

Letter from Châtalgneraie Peter Graham

Medical nomads turn native

are a nation of hypochondriacs.) for people suffering from trapped | ascribed by the doctor to the mystical That may be unfair, but they are certainly obsessed with matters medical: there is a plethora of health programmes on radio and television, and magazines like Bien- snout of a 250kg pig). But he has hangover from the time when they Etre Et Santé and Santé-Magazine been known to make his patient's had to rely on healers because of the are read by millions.

The French also consume more tranquillisers than any other nation on earth. This they can do partly because of a health system that allows you to consult as many doctors as you wish, scooping up fresh sup- of the sufferer's hair, and then, in prefers the word "incantations" plies of tranquillisers each time. isolation, makes the sign of the used by them are pure mumbo- it would make an excellent fastener This phenomenon, known as "med- | cross and recites a prayer (the text | jumbo. ical nomadism", is partly responsi- of which he can reveal only to the ble for France's yawning national | person to whom he wishes to pass | his predecessor in the job - an | been shortened to zip in the UK health deficit — the state refunds | on his "gift", just as he will have usu- | oddball priest who kept a fierce | most or all of the cost of consulta- ally received it from someone else). tions and prescribed drugs.

The medical culture in this very rural part of the lower Massif Central is somewhat atypical. First, there is not much opportunity for her hand over the sole of the pa- from heart trouble to osteoporosis. "nomadism", as doctors get suspi- tient's foot until he or she feels a cious if someone from a distant vil- burning sensation. A few days later lage comes to them hinting they the wart withers away and drops off. need tranquillisers. But where the The local doctor claims she may in inhabitants of the Châtaigneraie and fact pinch the wart, which would during which he was given 20 bee player landing on a square carrying a some other rural areas differ from have the same effect. the norm is in their widespread recourse to alternative medicine.

ture and/or branded herbal medi- himself. He was so successful as a might have got him into hot water). cines. And when it comes to minor "fire-charmer" that the doctor, to ailments, they often call on the ser- whom he would subsequently refer vices of unofficial bonesetters, them for normal burns treatment, no more than a sideline.

The local "chiropractor", for ex- without ever contacting him again. ample, is a station-master. His

T IS often said that the French | strong hands often work wonders | thing that resembles black magic is nerves or sprains (which may be attitude many people here have to the caused by anything from tossing too riddle of healing: "They prefer not to heavy a hale of hay on to a wain, to know too much about the scientific being shoved in the ankle by the side of medicine - this is possibly a condition worse - at least accord- | shortage of trained physicians in this ing to the local doctor.

A farmer in my village is reportedly able to cure a benign but unsightly skin infection caused by the exaggerated and that the crucifixes,

A gendarme who used to be stationed in the next village had the phoned the priest in a panic, he re- origin of the phrase. A good number of people in my power to soothe the excruciating ini- torted "Have you never seen anyone village, whatever their age-group, tial pain of burns and scalds by who has been taken ill?" and forbade

This widespread recourse to some- the gendarmerie.

remote area."

most reports of cures by healers are trichophyton fungus: he takes a lock | signs of the cross and prayers - he

alsatian dog and installed a sophisticated burglar alarm in the church DEOPLE suffering from plan-tar warts consult a woman in be stolen) — claimed to be able to WHAT is the origin of the phrase "back to square the next village. She passes | cure all sorts of serious ailments, with bee-stings.

He must have enjoyed some suchim. But one local, after a session ited and collapsed. When his wife

priest's reputation took a plunge. He football matches. had never been much liked by

THE FAST slide fastener was patented by Whitcomb L Judson of Chicago in 1893. This consisted of a series of hooks and eyes that fastened together with a slider. The more modern type of zip, using a meshed tooth arrangement, was patented by Gideon Sundback in 1913. Zip fasteners were first used in men's trousers and did not appear The village priest believes that in women's clothing until the 1920s. - Nick Spokes, Word, Essex

THE zip didn't take off until 1918 I when the US navy realised that for flying suits. The name zipper He recalls with amusement how | was coined in 1926, and has since Nicola Baxter, Redland, Bristol

THERE were many board games, popular in the 19th and early 20th cess, since people kept on coming to centuries, with numbered squares similar to Snakes & Ladders, where a jabs in the thigh, went home, von- penalty might have to go "back to square one" - and this is clearly the / Cortina, Figsta, Maxi,

Phrase And Fable and other books swear by homoeopathy, acupunc- "transferring" it from his patients to her to call a proper doctor (which such as the Dictionary Of Modern Phrase, the phrase has no connec-The patient survived, but the tion with radio commentaries on

Growing up in the 1930s, I regchiropractors and "healers" of all became intrigued. He wondered if parishioners, because of his habit of ularly listened to such broadcasts kinds. Some such practitioners the gendarme could pass on his launching ad hominem diatribes while following the movement of the 0171/44171-242-0985, or posted but in most cases their activities are promised to do so, but subsequently in the confessional. He once admit- Radio Times which was divided into don Road, London EC1M 3HO. left the force - to became a baker - | ted that had he not felt the calling of | eight squares. Captain H B T Wake-Charles Lapworth would murmur http://go2.guardian.co.uk/ng/

Police have no affection for the old-fashioned tunic, which has changed only marginally since the beginning of the century. In the past 10 years, some forces have introduced Natostyle pullovers, but these, too, have their faults: they are not

waterproof and swiftly lose their smartness and shape.



Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

W HO invented the zip fastener, and when?

"Square 3" . . . "Square 5" . . . as the ball moved about the field. Wakelant never mentioned the squares, and Lapworth said nothing else. The phrase "back to square one" was never used.

FEATURES 25

A Country

THE LAKE DISTRICT: It was

probably the best day of the au-

tumn - even of the whole year. The

sun smiled down from dawn to dusk

and the visibility, if not as pin-sharp

as sometimes in February, at least reached to the horizon. Most re-

markable was the almost magical

lighting — the blue of the sky re-

flected in all the waters and a grow-

ing russet glow over the fells. We

were doing a simple local walk o

perhaps six miles - from Arnside

over the Knott to Far Arnside and

back along the cliffs above the

shore - but it had never seemed so

lovely as this. Everything was so

still, the countryside settling down

for the winter with not a sound or

even a movement, save, as we

topped Arnside Knott, the little train

slowly moving from Grange to cross

the Kent estuary by the viaduct, 500

feet below. We walked up through

cool woods speckled with sunlight

and emerged suddenly on the sum-

mit, bright as a stage with views all

round to the Lakeland tails and

Yorkshire hills and a vast seascape

silvering the horizon. The sauds of

the estuary were plain to see and,

for to the west, we could pick out

the tiny blob of Fiel Island, with its

ancient castle, where Lambert Sim-

net had landed for his foolhardy as-

tempt on the English throne in 1486.

Diary

A Harry Griffin

On the 50th anniversary of broadcast commentaries in 1973, an article in the Radio Times credited the phrase to these commentaries, but one has only to look at the diagram to see the phrase could have no relevance: "back" to one team would be "forward" to the other: the restart after a goal was never in square one; and a pass-back to goal could also be "back to square two", "square seven" or "square eight". --Norman Brindley, Caddington, Bedfordshire

Any answers?

THE universe has evolved from simple beginnings. In the process, it has presumably been obeying certain fundamental laws of physics. But were these laws there from the beginning or have they too evolved? -- Gordon Simpson, Hastings, East Sussex

A LLEGRO, Astra, Capri, Mondeo, Samba, Viva. What is Despite Brewer's Dictionary Of the marketing theory which dictates that virtually every British post-war volume production car has to have a name ending with a vowel? --- N Jones, Hereford

11 11

Answers should be e-mailed to arnet Jerles via Juk/ng/ weekly@guardian.co.uk, faxed to work on a semi-professional basis, "gift" to him. The gendarme from the pulpit and berating people ball on a foutball-pitch chart in the to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farring-Readers with access to the Internet the church he would have gone into lam gave the commentary while can respond to Notes & Queries via



Incredibly hip hop . . . Lauryn Hill of the Fugees is no mere foll to the male vocals

Sound of New Jersey scores big in Brixton

___IOW big is "big"? In the T Fugees' case, big enough that Sony had to stop making their number-one single, Killing Me Softiy, because it wouldn't get out of the charts over the summer to make way for the next single, writes Caroline Sullivan. That in turn went straight to the top, helping the band's current album, The Score, sell 9 million copies since its release in March.

It's the more remarkable for the fact that, save for one-offs like the Coolio single, hip-hop acts simply don't sell in those quantities. But then the Fugees aren't your typical hip-hoppers. The trio, who hail from the deceptively lyrical-sounding East Orange, New Jersey, employ sensual female vocals as much as they do rapping, and the voice's owner, the fashion-mod-

elish Lauryn Hill, is no mere foil

for the two male Fugees. This in a genre where women must usually go solo to achieve any recognition. Even more relevantly, the Fugees make the diametrical opposite of gangsta rap. Despite dedicating their Brixton Academy show to Tupac Shakur and issuing half-hearted calls for insurrection, the Fugees are positivists who believe civiliantion isn't yet in irreparable decline. Until it is, they're going to party - and the audience is coming with them, damnit.

Their show takes to task the belief that rap is boring live. It's as if they've never heard of the two-slobs-barking-into-mikes formula. Hill, Wyclef Jean and Pras Michel are on a mission to entertain, and if that means stopping the show to sing Happy Birthday, or Pras wading into the crowd to berate some unfortunate who didn't have the "right

vibe", so be it. They even put a Fugee spin on the moment when the house was divided and each half told to shout in turn: Hill split us into "all the ladies with real hair" and those without (and it was hard to tell who were more numerous).

The Fugees made much of their eclecticism, constantly dipping, with the aid of a drummer and bassist, into other people's songs, from Walk On The Wild Side to the Jackson 5's ABC. Even Killing Me Softly did not escape their irreverence, but the dazzlingly-perfumed girl fans crooned along anyway, eyes closed to conjure up memories of Spanish waiters on summer holidays. This was as the Fugees would have wished; as Wyclef said before an explosion of tingel signalled the finale, "It ain't about black and white," Nope, it's about music, love and real hair.

Cindy breaks for the border

TELEVISION Nancy Banks-Smith

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R

AST week Cindy, the Clytemnestra of EastEnders (BBC 1). snatched her children by assorted fathers and fled the country. She | the guests being in intensive care or | habitat. They seem to move in | Mukhamedov and then with Zoltan | cause of the extra touring it'll it was one child short but, as she was clearly pregnant, that will soon be rectified

And so the sun sank with a bump and we sank back in our seats. drained of all emotion.

"Why do they live there?" asked Queen Mary after a fleeting visit to the East End. Well, it ain't dull, Cindy, a bad girl with good checkbones, had bired a hitman to shoot her husband, Ian. "You don't expect it round 'ere," said the square as he was stretchered away. Rubbish. It is precisely what you expect in Albert Square. All hell broke loose.

heads look increasingly life a pair | cigarette smoke in clothes. "What is | Phil. "Stupid?" Phil often asks if you of boxing gloves, went round 'aving | if you're after, Uindy?" "No more | think he's stupid. My advice is a pop at anybody loosely peripheral than anybody else." "Don't you un- aever to tell him, Lenin was sent in a to the plot. 'Aving a pop in East- derstand? This is what I do, I just let sealed railway carriace from Enders is accompanied by a cry, a people down. I've made a habit of it | Switzerland to Petrograd like a dancrash and extensive extra work for 1 all my life." make-up, in the general maelstrom of emotion Phil even gave his wile a black eye.

doberman pipschers in the East | acteristically, broke down) she was | Cindy than influenza, do you think Fod. "What are they called?" I overtaken by her husband (armed, we should warn the French and Belasked, for Lam tayourably inclined | equally typically, with filofax and | giums of their approaching peril? towards anything with a log at each 1 mobile phone). She snatched their 4 Oh, the hell with them.

owner briefly. "Ah," I replied more | daughter first. No one noticed briefly still. The original template | Cindy on the far side of the square, for Grant and Phil is all too obvious. veiled by leaves, except this little

ding, the highlight of the social cal- terpreted cry. endar, was cancelled what with all helping the police with their inquiries or having a pop at someone | sional carnivore - and gather each | tall enough to partner Bussell in | but because he thinks that if the reor applying beef to their blackening cyes. When police take away the the story burst out of the square turned out to be so unmanageable years, "I won't get back in - I'll be best man. I think it just ruins it for | altogether. London whizzed by the | he was asked to leave. Guillem and | over the hill". Yet despite his uncer everybody.

Cindy's skin-of-her-teeth escape | grimly shuttered shops, the dome of was excellently scripted by Tony | St Paul's shining like a light bulb --McHale and movingly played by as Cindy made her fox run for free- dance just 15 to 20 performances joying myself." And so, it seems, are Michelle Collins. If you saw this on | dom, and Grant and Phil followed. a black-and-white set — the goodlooking and vicious lovers, the de- | Grant, "Don't give a monkey's about serving and despised husband — him. Feel more sorry for Cindy for you would be reminded of a film. having to put up with him all these noir from the forties. Something years," said Phil, "My advice", said with Lana Turner in it. Wisps of the | Grant, "is never to tell Kathy," Grant and Phil, whose blunt, bald | dialogue bang around the mind like | "What do you take the for?" asked

much less twang than this. As Cindy | Cindy is on her way by Eurostar to collected her children one by one in Paris or Brussels. Considering that the other day I met a pair of a car leat by her lover (which, char- more grown men go down with

corner. "Ron and Reg," said the | sons successfully but he found their

EastEnders rarely leave their droves like beasts --- with the occawindows - garish petrol stations.

"I didn't think you liked Ian," said gerous virus and released there to I have watched thrillers with devastate Russia. Even as we sueak GUARDIAN WEEKLY November 3 1996



CINEMA



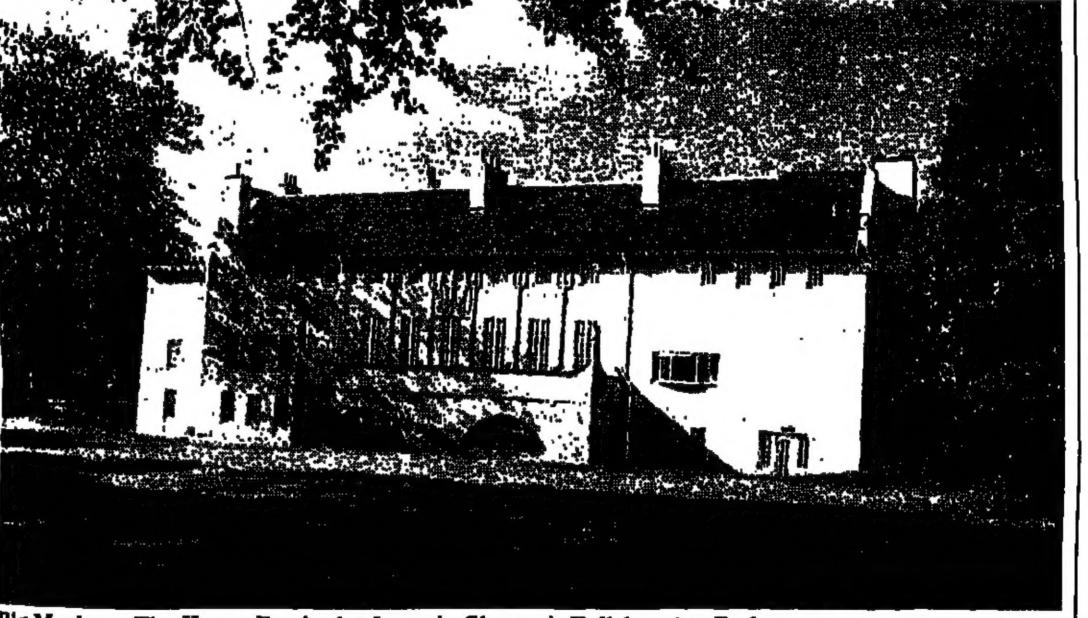


PHOTO: MARTIN GODWIN

Lord of the dance

the ideal prince of ballet, says Judith Mackrell

HE Royal Ballet is currently performing Romeo And Juliet, one of the most lyrically romantic ballets in its repertoire. On audiences can Jonathan Cope offer his heart and soul to his one true beloved, Sylvie Guillem. A few nights later, with gestures of equally transparent ardour, he'll be doing the same with Darcey Bussell. Cope is at present playing Romeo to the Royal's two most famous Juliets. If Bussell and Guillem had their way, he'd be partnering them in every other big classic, too.

Meeting Cope after rehearsal, however, he certainly doesn't trai the pheromones of a faithless flirt. So what is it about him that has both Bussell and Guillem hankering dance with him? The simplest least interesting answer is his height, as Cope is one of the few male dancers around who's tall. Yet he possesses other qualities that together make him the ideal ballet | dued passion of his performances prince. The first and most crucial is | The early bad reviews that said he that Cope is an unusually deft part- | didn't scorch hurt, but it was for ner and can juggle dancers through the most complicated manoeuvres so that they still come out looking like princesses.

As Bussell says, "Johnny's so experienced, you know you can take risks with him because he's always watching you. Less experienced partners lose their concentration and, by the end of a long ballet, when you're doing a big pas dc deux. you're often having to remind them what to do, like We go right here . Hello, we go right here', when what you should be thinking about is your own dancing." But Cope also looks good on his own. He has a big physical phy even in the most strenuous solo variations. Also, despite his mild 33, having found the key to his art English voice and manner, he looks | and feeling as strong as he ever has, extraordinarily like a young Greek he knows he has just three or four god. His black hair curls tightly above fine dark eyes, while a very long straight nose makes a perfect geometry with his round olive face.

For all these reasons, Cope has been top of the Royal's casting list Big Pat's cagerly awaited wed- girl, who gave an inarticulate, misin- for much of his career. For a while years off his career.) Cope is appre-Guillem had Cope to herself, as Bus- hensive about the Opera House's sell was paired first with like closure next summer, not just be Solvmosi. But Mukhamedov wasn't volve the has two young children evening at the waterhole. But now every ballet, and Solymosi's ego building takes longer than two Bussell, though, are not quite doing a Krystal-and-Alexis number backstage. Guillent is contracted to with the Royal (and not all with | Guillem and Bussell.



Modest Jonathan Cope is | Cope), while Bussell has been firm ing up a guest partnership with New York City Ballet's Igor Zelensky.

Dancers are well used to swap ping partners but Cope admits that it would be hard to go from one to the other on consecutive nights. He has close working relationships with both ballerinas and knows that "Darcey dances with her weight forwards and Sylvie with hers further back": and that "Darcey likes to work everything through in the studio" while "Sylvie doesn't give out anything emotionally in rehearsal --- she keeps it all for the stage".

Partners as naturally considerate as Cope are worth cherishing. Yes the qualities that women love in Cope aren't necessarily those he loves in himself. For instance, he regrets his height -- "I've always wanted to be four inches shorter" for one of the brute physical laws in ballet is that short dancers can jump and turn with a far more demonic virtuosity than tall ones.

He also finds his modesty a problem. When he started dancing lead roles, he was attacked for the subpersonal rather than professional reasons that Cope stopped dancing for two years and set up a property development business with his wife, ex-ballerina Maria Almeida.

E DISCOVERED, however, that he really missed dancing, and after a year of struggling to get back into shape found a form that was more powerful and passionate than before. Cope has learnt to let himself go and dance from the heart. He's learnt to live for "those magical moments where it all comes together and your body seems to be doing it for you".

It's a shame, then, that Cope will soon have to think about retiring. A years left. Dancers are often undone by their best skills. Jumpers are prone to knee injuries, while great partners get stiff backs from lifting. (Nureyev complained that the bal terinas he shunted around tool tain future, Cope appears angelically serene. "I just feel that right now I'm here. I'm me and I'm really en-



Contraction of the Hold tight . . . Cope plays a safe-pair-of-hands for Guillem, left. You can take risks as he's always watching you,' says Bussell, right



Gender benders

Derek Malcolm

WELFTH NIGHT is a play you can twist any which way If you have a good Malvolio and a credibly boyish Viola. So Trevor Nunn's film of it ought to more than pass muster, as Nigel Hawthorne is Malvolio and Imogen Stubbs is Viola (much aided by Helena Bonham Carter's Olivia).

All should be well since they know exactly what they are doing. But doubts persist because, in spite of Clive Tickner's fine cinematography, Nunn's ability to make theatre into a convincing cinematic experi-ence is limited. Kenneth Branagh's than usual Much Ado did that, even if it bordered on the vulgar. The absence of a similar sense of movement and pace is very damaging, especially for those not over-familiar with the play. Here we have a girl (Olivia) falling in love with a boy (Vlola) who is, in | which is all to the good,

fact, a girl - think of what Derek Jarman might have made of that. Nunn plays it straight, encouraging the au-dience to believe that Olivia is really gulled but not quite able to convince us that she should be. But the cinema has asked us to believe a lot less credible things recently, like a pregnant Schwarzenegger. It is just that Nunn never lets the play fly as a true film-maker might.

Stubbs's Viola could scarcely be better. Her difficulties are never overplayed - the girl-into-boy transformation is funny, not farcical, and the finale done with sentiment but without over-emphasis. Bonham Carter is almost as inventive, making Olivia stronger and less fluttery

You can't say that of all the humour, though Hawthorne as the absurd Malvolio attempts to get away from the siller aspects and maintain some dignity. One of Shakespeare's cruellest roles is made less so,

Richard E Grant and Mel Smith as Aguecheck and Sir Toby Belch are broader characterisations, as i Nunn were determined to make au diences laugh. It works, but only just. In contrast, Ben Kingsley's Feste is a lugubrious clown, with too grave a voice. I wouldn't have minded seeing Kingsley as Malvolio and Hawthorne as Feste. But there you are.

The film also founders on a feeling that there isn't a clear interpreta tion of the play to inform it. All you can see is a good cast tutored by an intelligent theatre director.

We don't always want radical reworkings - half of which are merely an attempt by directors to show how clever they are - but while Nunn serves most of Shakespeare's myriad ideas, he misses the opportunity to emphasise them for the many members of the audience who will be seeing Twelfth Night for the first time.

When The Cat's Away, made in Paris by Cédric Klapisch, is genuinely charming. The original title



Imogen Stubbs 'could scarcely be better' as Viola in Twelfth Night

young Parisienne who wants to go on holiday, boards out her cat and spends the rest of the film trying to find both it and love. If this plot seems a tad thin, what distinguishes its execution is the was Everybody Looks For Their | natural, unforced and unglamorous Cal, which gives a better sense of performance of Garance Clavel as this affectionate comedy about a the make-up artist with the cat, and

Big Mack ... The House For An Art Lover in Glasgow's Bellahouston Park PHOTOGRAPH: BTEVE ARMSTRONG Raise high the roof beams

The house Charles Rennie Mackintosh planned in 1901 | mainstream of modernist thought, has only just been completed, writes Brian Edwards

and resources to construct one House For An Art Lover. Designed in 1901, a 10-year project to build the house for the people of Glasgow has just reached its conclusion: It now stands between lime and beech trees in Bellahouston Park.

As befits a house not so much for artistic way of life, it is no ordinary interpenetration of architectural almost baroque,

Mackintosh designed the house to the public at the weekend. immediately after he had married his artistic partner Margaret Macdon-

THAS taken nearly a century for the best architect to realise his society to summon the courage dreams. He did not find that architect, but published as a lithographic of Charles Rennie Mackintosh's portfolio three of the schemes, inmost brilliant conceptions, the cluding Mackintosh's romantic, indulgent and poetic proposal.

What is remarkable, bearing in mind British artistic timidity and relative poverty, is that the House For An Art Lover has finally been it was clearly too expensive for of architecture and design". A few building. There is a lack of normal visionaries in Glasgow - from the functional arrangement, a scale that | engineer Graham Roxburgh to the now completed building. It opened elsewhere, or, where no evidence Scotland today.

Getting thus far was not easy: the project aroused its share of critiald. In the Scottishness of the design cism. The Victorian Society accused not so much intended for Mackin- concerned at the lack of authenticity tional competition in 1900 to find | bedding their arguments in the | his perspective views. A play of | ers to the same high ideals.

where morality and aesthetics are lections over the speculative nature of some of the decorative details.

Mackintosh gave us plans and perspective views, but there were many contradictions between the true of the breakfast room. two, and much remained undesigned. It was a dilemma Macmillan and his team of experts resolved by looking elsewhere to how Mackintosh had solved similar problems in School the staircase.

existed, they are frankly modern.

black and white, of light and shade, of large volumes and small — all so Nazi loot up typical of Mackintosh at Hill House and Windyhill - confronts the visitor. After the austere outside, with its white cliffs of render, the interior is a surprise. Full of light, colour and mood, it shows just what supreme master Mackintosh was of interior architecture. Like many of his buildings, the exterior and interior don't seem to fit together, just as Mackintosh's own life was full of contrasts and disjunctures.

Inevitably in such a project there were disagreements among the chief protagonists over detail. Cultural archaeologists and architects come from different traditions and do not always see eye to eye, and the artist craftsmen had their own view on how materials should be put together. Such lengthy discussion took place over Mackintosh's exact intentions that one exasperated cabinet maker "wished he could dig the man up and ask him direct". But, as befits an art lover's house, the debate is as valuable as the product, and should not end now the house is practically completed.

Some rooms still require to be created as Mackintosh intended: intertwined. Others have voiced ob- the nursery with its shallow-barrel vaulted ceiling and kissing couple in gesso (a form of decorative plaster panel) over the fireplace will surely be realised in time, and the same is

FTHE HOUSE For An Art Lover has led to healthy debate over authenticity and interpretation, it | this. But what are we supposed has also done much to revive the | to do?" said Peter Liska, viceother buildings. From Hill House arts and crafts in Scotland. As a true president of Vienna's Jewish constructed. At a cost of £4 million, you find the detail on the window artist Mackintosh worked with the seat; from Queen's Cross Church | sister arts of stained glass, metalliving in as for experiencing the Koch, but not, it seems, for the "City | the hall gallery; and from the Art | work, furniture design and gesso. To realise one of his projects today Fortunately, there is no pastiche requires patronage, which also of Mackintosh, no parodying so fa- helps keep alive these dying crafts. is certainly not domestic, and an architect and Mackintosh scholar miliar elsewhere in Glasgow. De- Looking at the house and its fur- services arc on offer, the and Professor Andrew Macmillan — | tails are either as the master had | nishings one has to be impressed by space, light and volume that is have seen the project grow into the designed them for the house or the quality of artist craftsmen in

The House For An Art Lover is re-So you move from rooms true to ally Mackintosh's own dream house. Mackintosh to those of a more con- No other 20th century architect lived temporary nature as though slip- so fully the life of an artist: he deand in the presence of a nursery it of being a "dangerous, conjectural ping in and out of a dream. The signed buildings, furniture, posters there is a definite sense that this was reconstruction". Other critics are initial sequence of spaces - the and tried finally to make a living double-height entrance hall, the painting. All the ethos, passion and tosh's client, the German industrial- in constructing a building more | dark and moody dining room, the | irony of Mackintosh's own life is capist Alexander Koch, as for the than 90 years after it was designed light and airy music room and the tured in this building. Its real worth newly-wed architect and his wife. without complete working draw- white, womb-like oval room — are today is to ensure that it continues to Koch had launched an interna- ings. They see it as a moral issue, just as Mackintosh showed them in be an art lover's house, inspiring oth-

Klapisch's subtle observation of the quarter (Popincourt, the 11th arrondissement) in which it is set. Here we meet the young, forced to move on by rent increases; the old, who remember something better and the street life that still seems full of real life.

ARTS 27

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Perhaps the film is a little sentimental and perhaps the characters we, and she, meet are a little sweeter than in life. But this is still a cherishable delight that has something to say about community less cliched

than the mouthings of politicians. This is the Paris we know and love, but it's changing fast and not for the better. Demolition, highrises and the destruction of build ings and old communities are taking their toll. The people the girl meets - an Arab who fancies her, the gay young man who shares her flat and the young drummer who beds her before rushing off to his girlfriend - still seem very human. They are not yet totally ground down by circumstances beyond their control.

And there's a wonderful old lady. flitting in and out grumbling, who alone is worth the price of a ticket.

for grabs

lan Traynor In Vienna

IFTY years after Austria secreted some of the Nazi spoils of war in a Danubian monastery and hoped the crime would be forgotten, the plundered art of middle-class Jewish Vienna is going to auction.

In the macabre sale this week Christie's is to dispose of more than 8,000 paintings and objets d'art stolen in 1938-45 from Austria's pre-war Jewish community of 180,000. Artworks range from an ancient Greek bust of Alexander the Great to cut crystal and silver candelabras. The sale is expected to raise at

least £3 million for Holocaust survivors and their families. "It is the stolen art from stolen

lives," said Peter Noever, head of Vienna's Museum of Applied Arts, where the curtain was finally lifted last week on the Mauerbach Collection, named after the 14th century monastery outside Vienna where the government kept the art bidden until last year.

Viewing the thousands of pieces is like intruding on a private, unspoken grief. "We're very unhappy about this sale. We'd much rather not have had community.

The antiques and paintings once graced the drawing rooms of the Jewish middle class. Antique carved bedsteads and incomplete porcelain dinner relics of a culture victously rubbed out. More than a third of Austria's Jews died in concentration camps.

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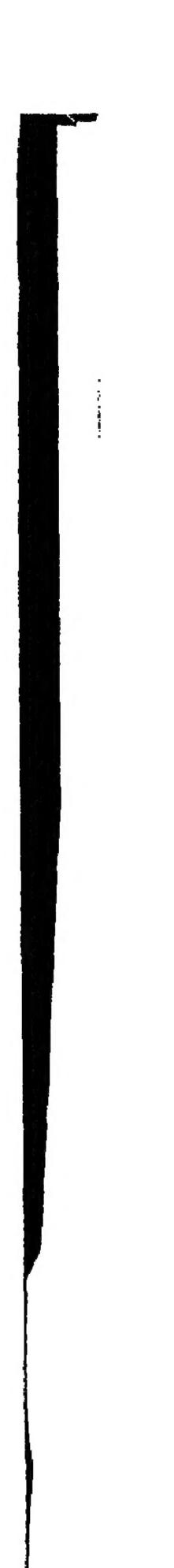
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In a foreword to Christie's catalogue, Austria's President Thomas Klestil welcomes the auction "as the culmination of efforts by the Austrian government over many years to return objects of art and other items seized from Austrian Jews by the Nazis to their rightful owners".

In fact, the Austrian government has stalled for decades.







Alexander Frater

Congo Journey by Redmond O'Hanlon Hamish Hamilton 472pp £18 Bad Land: An American Romance by Jonathan Raban Macmillan 325pp £15.99

N 1 MAY 1983, Marcellin Agnagna, a Congolese biolo-gist, saw a dinosaur swimming in a remote Congolese lake. Though too agitated to take pictures he noted its tiny head and massive back, even managed a few conjectural measurements. He wrote a report which, in due course, arrived at the Oxford home of Redmond O'Hanlon.

O'Hanlon subsequently turned up in the People's Republic of the Congo equipped for a six-month march, obtained permission to visit Lake Tele by assuring the Brazzaville contrades - who took him for a spy — that he was actually a Darwinian Marxist with a deep interest n sorcery. They liked that and, lubricated by a backhander of £1,000, sent him on his way.

He travelled with Agnagna, Agnagna's two brothers and Larry Shaffer, an old American friend. (Old friends are traditionally invited to accompany Redders on his nature rambles - James Fenton went to Borneo with him, casino-operator Simon Stockton to the Amazon. Both swore never, ever again, and i imagine the others — a new book being contemplated — flinching each time the phone rings.) This book has all the usual wonderful touches - swarms of bees passing overhead "with ... a roar like escaping steam", how it feels when 22 million migrating driver ants want to get into bed with you, what it's like when a village chief plans your execution even as he drinks your whisky and accepts your gifts.

O'Hanlon brought Oxford pipes and Balkan Sobranic tobacco for the chiefs, Swiss Army knives and Birmingham-made machetes (with a lifetime's guarantee) for the rest. | as guides to explorer Redmond O'Hanlon

He also treated the sick. While occa- and so, in a sense, did he. But hysionally voicing exasperation - "Al- | giene no longer seemed a priority, most every Bantu man I met ... had a headache, a boil that needed dressing, and at least one wife with malaria" - he patiently handed out quinine and Fansidar for the wives, Paracetemol and Savion for their husbands.

And he tried to keep up with the extraordinary sexual adventures of Marcellin and his priapic brothers. Here is one, the boss-eved Nzé, entering a hut in which a naked pygmy girl sits, "[He] walked over, cocked his head to one side, put his hands | sion that takes it beyond travel writon her firm young breasts, and squeezed." When Shaffer yelled at Marcellin muttered him (and wearily, "Don't do it. I've told you before") Nze explained: "it's the only way, doctor! It's the only way to say to a pygniy: "You have wonderful breasts!" "Moving deeper inland a more sombre mood intruded. ()'Hanlon's good intentions fell vic- air-conditioning and, in the vernacutim to the climate; they grew mould | lar of his pygmies, a "say-ellulah"



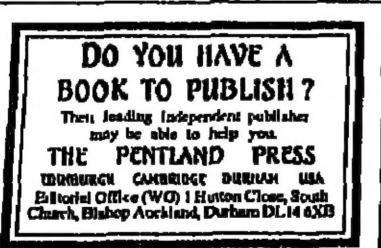
Clive at large in India

Farrukh Dhondy

The Silver Castle by Clive James Jonathan Cape 263pp £15.99

A AANY years ago, I knew a man IVI called Clive James. He and I were at college together. He was Australian — a comedian in a student revue and a rather racy poet. civilisations. He has recently gone on to pronounce the novel as dead.

who runs away at the age of seven to the movie citadel of "Bollywood". sign, exactly where he started.



in the course of this odyssey, he is deflowered by a boy gang leader | How can the well-known wisdom of | prehending presence as an excuse, of the Bombay streets and sold to a this particular author - his literary Throughout the book, in fact, James An nists who try to change the succession of pederasts from Eng- | allusions, his catalogue of reference land and America. From these char- | - emerge in a novel about a slum acters he learns and earns. These boy who doesn't understand Engaesthetes communicate with him in lish? The novelist solves the the elaborate cross-cultural argot of dilemma with three brilliant manthe internationally pretentious, as oeuvres. Firstly, Sanjay is punished keenly observed by James.

One of the aesthetes, Scott, walks | school to learn English and is helped Also at the university at that time | with Sanjay to an art gallery. Sanjay | was a professor who wrote about remarks that his protector and pederast Desmond is a kind man, to which Scott replies — "What he re-The Silver Castle tells the story of ally is, though, is smart. The ence throughout the book to Sanjay's Sanjay, a slum kid from Bombay | smartest. Smarter than a poem by | actual or projected misunder- | we are supposed to agree: "And James Merrill. When I first knew standings of Australian, American or those terrifying African countries, him he was a boy-wonder professor figurative English. Sometimes, this the ones where the starving chil-He becomes a stunt man and two-bit at Barnard, I was just in from the misunderstanding is funny. A Brit dren swell up like cherry bubbles star but ends up, through fatal de- sticks and here was this guy barely technician with a film crew on until pricked at last by the pin of older than I was who could talk | which Sanjay has found a job as a | death: those countries could all feed about anything. Isniah Berlin's phi- "runner", in an argument about an themselves if they were well govlosophy, Richard Feynman's physics, essential pack of equipment, says erned, if the tribes would stop John Rawls's political theory, Diane | "leave it out!" --- which Sanjay pro- | killing each other, and if the West Arbus's photography, Diana Vree- ceeds to do. At other times, it gets could find a way of helping that land's lipstick. He talked about them | terribly self-conscious and tedious. | doesn't hinder." all as if he knew them personally. The third stratagem is that char-And Jesus Christ, it turned out that | acters - such as the editor of a na- | liberally spread throughout the he did."

Bombay slum doesn't make much of | hold the conversations James recre- | novel is dead and that other forms this conversation. The narrator wit- ates to give us an insight into his must fill the vacuum is right.

tily remarks in the next paragraph | own vision of India, its poverty, prethat the only person Sanjay knew from the list was Jesus Christ. This provides the novel with a dilemma. for street crime by being sent to a along by a gift from Rochester of a addresses us in the present tense. know how I manage to look after st Concise Oxford Dictionary, The second stratagem is to make constant but inconsequential refer-

tional daily - enter the novel only | book - that makes me feel that the Of course, the rent boy of the as guests at a party. They can then professor who now says that the GUARDIAN WEEKLY November 3 1996

scary things were happening.

The acquisition of a fetish legedly containing a child's severed finger lies at the book's dark heart. It never left his person. But the dinosaur, if it ever existed, chose not to reveal itself — though one night at Lake Tele the pygmies claimed that they heard its "thin, highpitched cry, 000-000-0000"

It's a huge, meaty, discursive book, perhaps 50 pages too long. but displaying an amplitude of viing. There is a touch of greatness about Congo Journey that hints at

exceptional things to come. Jonathan Raban's latest, we learn that Raban became "as captivated by his story as an African explorer". If so, Raban's version of O'Hanlon's dugout was a Jeep equipped with

PHOTOGRAPH: IAN BERRY

phone. Set in the emptiest and most obscure corner of the United States, it's about failure and despair, the souring of the American dream.

In 1907 the new Milwaukee Road railroad set off through the Dakotas and into Montana, arbitrarily creating "cities" as it went. Each designated square mile of wilderness required populating and, for that, they targeted the Old World. nainted a roseate picture of the plains of eastern Montana. It was utterly fraudulent and brilliantly successful. Their victims poured over to form the last great west-bound migration of homesteaders. Raban, an emigrant himself, knows the fierce hopes that buoyed up these pilgrims and, visiting the town of Ismay with an agreeable man named Mike Wollaston, learnt how On the dust jacket of Bad Land, they had turned, literally, to dust. Here Wollaston's grandfather took a 320-acre half-section, joined a community that briefly flourished before | being cuffed behind one's back it became apparent that Montana was "just about the poorest damned land in the whole United States".

Today Montana, a transit stop in overnight.) "The cassia blossom their lives, is a wasteland of decaying farmhouses and skeletal fences. | are asked to suck the contents (Though Ismay recently renamed it- | through a rice straw, and must anself for a legendary quarterback of swer the question "does the cassia the San Francisco 49ers. The 28 citi- | blossom taste sweet?" in the affirzens of newly minted Joe, Montana, | mative, or else. This humanitarian printed souvenir T-shirts, hoped a punishment is known as "paying re bemused America would descend, chuckling and oh-my-goshing, in bright side, prisoners' families are convoys of Winnebagos. Nobody no longer invoiced for the bullets bothered.) Out here, they don't like | used for their execution. This is a the government or the East Coast | harrowing book, but it must be Establishment. Raban met a bright kid who had rejected scholarship offers on the grounds that the colleges were "too liberal".

What thrives in this hopeless soil is the kind of fundamentalism that OOR Germaine, one had got led to the Waco conflagration and the Oklahoma City bombing. Raban's | and original mind, but now, but now journey, made through empty landscapes that once brimmed with optimism, reveals what happens when destinies - of the few celebrated American innocence begins to cur- and canonical women poets, with a dle. The tale, borne along by his | pin-sharp eye on their work and the superlative writing, is a riveting one. | varying degrees and types of conde

Congo Journey can be ordered at the discount price of £14 and Bad Land at the discount price of £11.99 from Books@ Guardian Weekly

tensions and prospects.

These conversations are essays on their own, with Sanjay's uncomaddresses the reader with observations so elaborate, detailed and con- up, or propose loopy multi-parented ceited as to belong to the body of a utopias (hi, Germaine!). It's also a travelogue rather than to the more | superb memoir about what happens connective tissue of a novel.

James emerges, like the Wizard of down, and how all the bad advice Oz, from this clumsy machine, and does your head in. "You want to telling us what his characters are | many children? Easy - I just do it now doing and where they will end badly." Terrifically witty, smart and up, and making compelling general | brave: essential. I want to have her observations with which (no doubt) children. I don't mean that.

It is this sort of observation --

Paperbacks

Nicholas Lezard **Eighteen Layers of Hell:** Stories from the Chinese **Gulag, by Kate Saunders**

(Cassell, £14.99) **CONTURE** is forbidden Chinese prisons. The authorities look after prisoners in accordance with laws [sic] and treat them with humanitarianism." Maybe Ma Yuzhen. Chinese ambassador to the UK. who wrote this letter, is gen uinely ignorant of the atrocities in flicted on many prisoners in China But if he thinks that the stories in this book constitute a gross libel on Chinese prison regimes, he could always sue. The Chinese, with their gift for poetic metaphor, have some quaint phrases for some abominab practices: "Su Qin carries a sword on his back" involves the hands with one of the hands pulled back over the shoulder. (Try it now; and imagine maintaining the posture vase" is the slops bucket: prisoners spects to the cell god". On the

Slip-Shod Sibyls, by Germaine Greer (Penguin £9.99)

read.

used to thinking; such a face ... And then this comes along. Are evaluation of the reputations - and scension they were treated to There is good, hard, impressive scholarship here; which, tied to her typically punchy prose, means that she's produced a book of enduring worth. It could even be her best

What About Us? by Maureen Freely (Bloomsbury, £6.99)

A NATTACK on the kind of fem subject when motherhood comes to you when you do have children Finally, in a sort of coda, Mr how even the best men let you

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GUARDIAN WEEKLY November 3 1996

Under eastern eyes

Norman Stone

Europe: A History by Norman Davies Oxford 1,384pp £25 A History of Europe by J M Roberts Helicon 628pp £25

HE FIRST and most obvious new book is that it reads like the old Arthur Mee Children's Encyclouaedia. It is Europe from the Greeks to Gorbachev, and is very long - so long that my proof copy fell apart. Through the jumbled pages of the latter half, I could simply magpie amid a cascade of interesting information, presented without condescension and with great charm, which will be usable at any level of inquiry. This book is an astonishing piece of work.

Norman Davies is the world's leading authority on Poland, and it was there that he established himself in the sixties, at a time when it was exceedingly unfashionable to take an interest in that part of the world. Then, in the eighties, central Europe came into its own, along religion and liberalism.

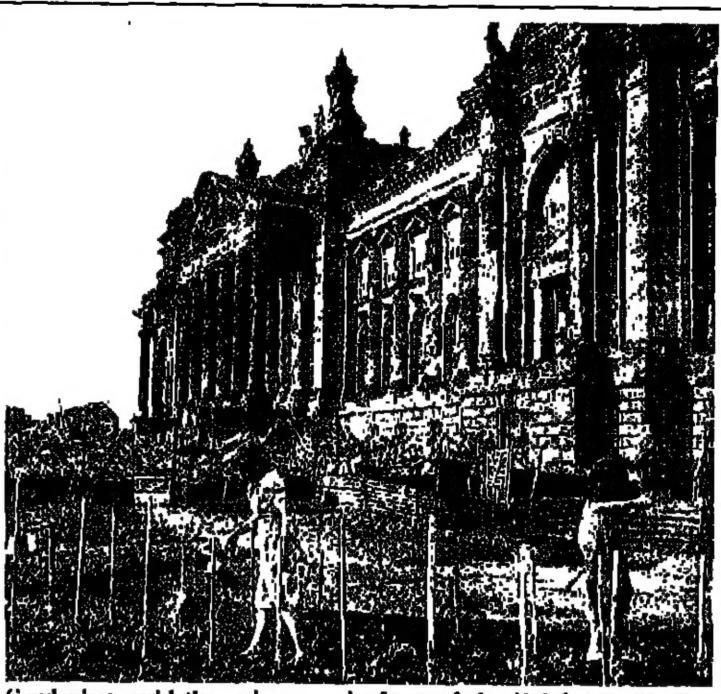
good place to start an inquiry into Europe as a whole, as Lewis Namier showed: for it is the West in a mirror. Western Europe did not have to face invasion after the Dark Ages; roughly after the middle of the 19th and further south. The Dutch, for of this, it is just unfortunate that he communists' doings in the east. century --- they established them-SCIVES.

tium, of eastern Christianity, stretching into Russia, is as important as the inheritance of Rome in the West. The result is a Europe that does stretch from Galway to the Urals.

There is a dreadful problem with general surveys of this kind. You cannot write at much length about what you are interested in; too much detail clogs the chronology. Davies has solved this ingeniously. virtue of Norman Davies's by offering hundreds of what he calls "capsules" of information, dented within the text. These deploy genius. Why is Russia called "Rus", and what part was played in its foundation by the Scandinavians? Why do Indo-European languages have their unique grammar, subjunctives and all? How was polyphony adapted in the West? Spanish and Polish poetry, even examples of agricultural science, techniques of minting money, how to keep time or build cathedrals --- on and on it goes, showing an enormous amount of unselfconscious labouring in some very difficult literature.

he has put his perfectly serviceable | Europe stops moving in an English supplies,

Protestant, belief-in-progress man tries hard to bring out what is instance, are indeed a manifestation of divine providence: they invented | as Davies has done. Davies puts Slavs on the same everything, and the whole planet is lungs": here the inheritance of Byzan- | her great days? It is unfortunately | therefore tend to write the same | happened.



Gardening amid the ruins . . . in front of the Reichston, Berlin, 1947; taken from Chim: The Photographs of David Seymour (Andre Deutsch, £30) by Inge Bondi

It is not fair on John Roberts that | that they run out of steam once

the case with nearly all English- worthy but boring book: growth of written histories of modern Europe | welfare, the planning state, consen-

sus society, etc. In eastern Europe, they are more Davies's dreadnought. He covers | classical liberalism in the 1870s. | moments, and no journalist who has with the old themes of nationalism, the same Greeks-to-Gorby area, but After that date, increasingly, Eng- spent time in the region has failed to does so in a book that is half of lish writers tend to plod, rather be- become electrified by the process Eastern Europe is in fact a very | Davies's size, and cannot afford the | wilderedly, through a story that, | through which communism disintespace for information that Davies with fascism and communism, or grated. But then they all go and even with Christian Democracy, be- write the same book because the At bottom, Roberts is a northern, comes madhouse stuft. Roberts evidence is of much the same sort,

Davies solves these difficulties by who has sat on too many commit- unique to European civilisation, the carrying out a comparison of the the eastern European peoples could tees. The problem with this is that criss-crossing between a rationalis- two Europes, and manages to stress not develop so autonomously. Once the turbines of progress, or even in- able religiosity and a spirit of tech- what the western Europeans they were allowed to do so - terest, now come from further east nology, and he is good on both sides achieved by contrasting it with the has not the space to illustrate things have never encountered a better short description of communism in Davies commands admiration in central and castern Europe, and footing as Latins and Germans, and vastly better off for their existence. one area that is the trickiest of all - there are little half-sentences here this is another of his book's virtues. Theirs is still a rather wonderful Europe since 1950. This subject is and there, for instance in the ac-He takes the view of Christian civili- | country, full of highly educated peo- | nightmarishly difficult for a writer. | count of Hungary in 1956, which sation that it is, in the words of the | ple behaving with common sense. | In the western half, politics is unbe- | show that Davies knows an enormedieval Pope, "one body with two But what happened to Holland after lievably dreary. The historians mous amount about what really

The feminist in the wardrobe

Natasha Welter The Power of Beauty by Nancy Friday Hutchinson 589pp £17.99

ITHIN this vast book, WW hodge-podge of theory, anecdote, prejudice and rhetoric, there is an interesting small book struggling to get out. Nancy Friday arrows in the vague direction of an and genitalia, Gloria Swanson ---you name it, it's in the pot.

esting note. When she asks why becomes more urgent. For this is a which I wore only stockings and a key question for feminists now. The garter belt. If men hadu't looked, 1 tanical fears that dogged their femi- | she argues, gave women like her nist foremothers.

that is comfortable with feminine to the nice girl/nasty girl stereoothers are moving towards it.

Germaine Greer's The Female

Friday is working on the same

argument, but rarely hitting the tar- and seventies, and the way that isin that i, along with other father, or her perfect new husband. get. She writes about maternal de- physical display added to her sense women, have besitated to use the tracting from it.

sure where and when they wanted.

tion Of The Rights Of Women.

Eunuch celebrated the gorgeous | tory feminism rings true. There was | Friday is quite good at pointing out | by those omissions are women.

the problem, but she is terrible at suggesting ways to move on. Her inability to push the argument forreality of women's bodies and erotic | a time in the sixties when, as Friday | ward arises partly because, like life. The most interesting shift that | reminds us, one of feminism's slo- | almost all American feminist books, Naomi Wolf has undergone is from gans was that "women's freedom Friday's tome is only really about the anti-beauty polenic of The | will be men's freedom too". In re- the writer herself. Maybe the per-Beauty Myth to the occasional, | turning to the colourful sexual revo- | sonal is the political. But the political tentative celebration of women's | lution of the sixties, Friday reminds | can't just be about personalities, just physical display in Fire With Fire. us how much women were asked to about Friday and her adolescent Camille Paglia's appeal has centred | give up by a women's movement that | traumas and her divine wedding. from the beginning on her ability to gradually became hostile towards This book is incredibly claustrorevel in heterosexual erotic culture. feminine beauty and heterosexuality. phobic, because of its fixation on Friday is right that the "anti-men, Friday's own life, her own relationroams around her subject, firing lines. She remembers how impor- anti-sex Matriarchal Feminists have ships with, say, her mother, or her tant beauty was for her in the sixties so misappropriated the word femi- absent father, or her loving grand-

And although I agree with her privation, marabou wraps, death of independence rather than de- word, though we have no other". that feminism lost its direction This is a British problem as much as when it chose to mould women into "There was nothing reckless in an American one, that goes right an impossibly dowdy and puritani-Occasionally, she strikes an inter- invine exhibitionism, the exhilara- back to the beginnings of the calideal. I don't agree that the way tion of walking along on a summer | women's movement, when Mary | forward lies just in throwing ourand heterosexual love, her writing on the tip of a pinkie nail and under female contemporaries in A Vindica- have to direct women's personal When young women now hear of them to wear, or not to wear, sexy present generation of young women | would have been disappointed," she | the women's liberation conference | dresses; to have, or not to have, orhas completely thrown off the puri- remembers delightedly. Feminism, which published a paper saying gasms with men: feminists still "Fashion equals control equals vio- seem to be too bogged down in the chance to define their own sexu- | lence against women", or when they | what goes on in women's wardrobes This happy, tolerant feminism, ality rather than being condemned | read contemporary feminists saying | to worry about what goes on in their that women who buy chic clothes | workplaces, too worried about their beauty and heterosexuality, has ac- types of the past. And so it en- are "poisoning their freedom" with lipstick to care about their bank actually always been around. Many | hanced their ability to dress up, to | "a dark vein of self-hatred, physical | counts, too intent on their brash feminists have always held to it, and love men, and to take sexual plea- obsessions, terror of ageing, and new weddings to listen to old fears dread of lost control", they naturally about poverty and violence. And in This idea of a tolerant, celebra- find the idea of feminism a turn-off. the end the only ones that get hurt

Return to Zanzibar

BOOKS 29

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Maya Jaggi Admiring Silence by Abdulrazak Gurnah Hamish Hamilton 217pp £16

COLLOWING the strange en-Chantments of his Bookershortlisted l'aradise - set in an East Africa on the brink of the first world war - Abdulrazak Gurnah's new novel grapples with an African-English present.

In crisis, an unnamed schoolteacher in south London takes stock of his life. With only a precarious sense of belonging, he is assuled by intimations of mortality (a "buggered heart", in his GP's helpfu diagnosis); a crumbling relationship with his partner Emma; and a change of leadership in Zanzibar that prompts an anxious visit "home" after 20 years.

He is Gurnah's most nurcliable narrator to date. He embroiders romanticised childhood tales to woo his fellow-student Emma Willoughby, and baits her Blimpish frigate to sea in the company of direction, ie, with the failure of grown up. There, there are dramatic father with ludicrously parodic "Empire stories". His biggest lie — not to have told his relatives in Zanzibar of his partner and their 17-year old daughter Amelia, or his family in London of the omission - paves the way for abject farce, as he takes an arranged marriage to the beautiful 20-year-old Safiya.

The novel's outrage at the "petty hardships" of African shortages and blocked toilets, and its satire on obscenely self-serving leaders, is uncompromising. Yet Gurnah is acutely aware of the hazards of raging against post-colonial Africa the "overcharged ironies" in labelling those in charge "cannibal louts"

His hero's pandering fictions to the Willoughbys reflect the dilemma of the writer coming from what he terms with irony the "darker corners of the world": to play up to expectations of the "exotic" with anodyne nostalgia, or risk confirming bigotry through harsh realism.

The author's own choice is clear: "We keep silent and nod -- for fear of our lives — while bloated tyrants fart and stamp on us for their petty gratification." It is tyrants who commend muteness in their subjects, like the Ayatollah with his falwa ---"another admirer of silence"

But the hero's stories also have a self-protective function. They shield him from guilt and recrimination and from the wounding power of words. His traumatic visit home banishes fearful silences within himself, and within his family, as he comes to an adult understanding of his parents after the obtuse resentments of childhood.

Despite its biting humour, Admiring Silence is in some ways a muted novel, an anguished meditation on feminists have been so intent in evening in a sea-green Pucci dress, Wollstonecraft included attacks on selves into a celebration of feminine home and loss that refuses the comtheir dismissal of feminine beauty a wisp of a garment you could hold the "feathered birds" that were her beauty and sexuality. Do feminists fort of resolution, While it cloquently charts the cumulative lives at all? Whether they are telling changes wrought by geographical displacement, it also reveals the loss of love as a kind of exile.

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Sports Dlary Shiv Sharma

Rovers slump

club. Premiership champions 18 just months ago, they are so far without a win with a quarter of the season gone and the team suffered further humiliation last week when they were knocked out of the Coca-Cola Cup by Second Division Stockport.

To compound the Lancashire club's misery, it was an own goal by captain Tim Sherwood in the 23rd minute that led to the team making an exit with heads bowed at the end of the third-round clash at Ewood Park

Two days later, the directionless club also found themselves managerless when Ray Harford resigned his job. He sald: "It was a big decision but the performance and result against Stockport was the final straw. I have always tried to put the club first and I hope the decision can do some good." Former player-manager Howard Kendall is being tipped to take over.

Meanwhile Bolton Wanderers, whose victims in cup competition in | 3hr 47min 14sec. Toshiba Wave Aston Villa, Everton, Liverpool and West Ham, added Chelsea to the list last week, coming from behind to win 2-1 at Burnden Park.

struggling Leeds United, who went down 2-1 to Aston Villa, and Crystal Palace, beaten by Ipswich 4-1. Newcastle United, Middlesbrough, Man- | ily outpointed America's seasoned chester United. West Ham and Darryl Tottenham Hotspur all won their | rounds. Three weeks ago Mersey ties while Liverpool. Arsenal. Southampton, Wimbledon and Coventry have to replay their drawn

In Scotland, Rangers defeated Dunfermline 6-1 in the semi-final of the Scottish Cola-Cola Cup. In the final they will meet Hearts who saw off Dundee 3-1 in the other semi.

HE £670 million record-breaking deal between Rupert Murdoch's BSkyB satellite TV station and the Premiership has been thrown into doubt after Europe's competition authorities said the agreement was under scrutiny. Karel van Miert, the European competition commissioner, expressed concern about the dominant market position achieved by some broadcasters, including BSkyB. The commissioner has powers to revise contracts and fine broadcasters if he finds that competition laws have been broken.

ABRIELA SABATINI, the Argentine tennis star, is retiring from the game which has brought



LACKBURN ROVERS are her a £6 million fortune in prize-English football's new crisis money and an estimated £13 million in advertising deals over the past 12 years at the relatively early age o Sabatini, the sixth-highest money-winner in women's tennis history, is departing with her talent largely unfulfilled after problems with motivation as well as a stomachmuscle injury which troubled her throughout this year, causing her to miss Wimbledon and the French Open.

Sabatini turned professional at the age of 14 and was hailed as the player most likely to challenge Germany's Steffi Graf, but the highest world ranking she achieved was No 3 in 1989, 1991 and 1992.

IKE GOLDING and the crew V of Group 4 completed the first leg in the BT Global Challenge "wrong way" round the world race when they reached Rio de Janeiro at midday local time on October 23 after covering the 5,000 miles from Southampton in a record 23 days recent years have included Arsenal, Warrior finished 2 hr 9min behind, with Concert still 60 miles astern.

IVERPOOL hailed another box-Also out of the Coca-Cola Cup are ing hero when Shea Neary claimed the vacant WBU light-welterweight title at the Everton Park Sports Centre. The 28-year-old eas-Tyson after 12 hectic sider Robin Reid lifted the WBC super middleweight belt in Milan.

> ▲ XEL MERCKX, the 24-year-old son of Belgium's cycling leg- ers' tunnel the home crowd, preferend Eddy, has signed a two-year | ring to recall the honours his teams contract with the Italian racing had won rather than the murky cirteam, Polti. He will earn around £130,000 a year.

wickets in the second Test at nine years Graham moved left to Faisalabad to take the series 1-0. join the Leeds bench that has now The home side dismissed Zimbabwe for 133 and replied with 267. The visitors made 200 in the second innings, leaving Pakistan with just minutes and Bergkamp had in-67 for victory, which they achieved without loss. Wasim Akram, who scored a double century and took 11 wickets in the first Test, finished the second with 10 wickets.

HE former Test cricket umpire Harold "Dickie" Bird, who retired from the game earlier this year, has been named Yorkshire Man of the Year by the county's awards committee.

 OVENTRY City's manager Ron Atkinson was fined £750 and his assistant Gordon Strachan £2,000 - the heaviest imposed by the Football Association this season - for misdemeanours, which included Strachan's refusal to leave the pitch after being sent off in a reserve game against West Bromwich Albion on August 29.

ANET FEWINGS, a soccer ref eree, is in hot water after shar-(15-32); 2, Milwall (15-28); 3, Bury (15-28). ing showers with male players. The 41-year-old from Exeter, Devon, has been suspended.

Second Division: Blackgool 1, Watford 1; Bristol City 4, Nolts Co 0; Burnley 2, Plymouth 1; Bury 2, Bristol R 1: Chesterfield 2, York 0; Gillingham 1, Preston 1; Luton 2, Bournomoulti 0: Rolherham 2, Peterborough 0; Shrewsbury 0, Crewe 1; Walsall 1, Stockport 1; Wycombe 0, Third Division: Barnet 0, Carlisle 0; Brighton 0, Fulham 0; Cardiff 3, L Oriani 0; Chester 1, Hereford 3; Exeter 2, Hartlepool 0; Lincoln 3,

GUARDIAN WEEKLY November 3 1998

Football Premiership: Arsenal 3 Leeds United 0



Wright mix . . . Ian celebrates his goal at Highbury with David Platt and Dennis Bergkamp PHOTOGRAPH DAN SMITH

Back to the past with present imperfect

David Lacey

CR a few seconds at Highbury on Saturday it was almost possible to believe that George Graham soon as he emerged from the playcumstances of his dismissal, gave him a standing ovation.

The illusion was only fleeting. Instead of turning right to sit in the been his lot for seven weeks.

given Arsenal the lead. Another five creased it. Graham, once the ultianother loser near the bottom of the

Premiership. It would be hard to guess pre- | place for at least a week.

cisely which aspect of Leeds's fifth defeat in six league games since Graham took over caused him more discomfort — the supine state of his new team or the way his old one had returned to manage Arsenal. As posed, preened and pirouetted once it became obvious that an emphatic win was theirs for the asking. In | Bjorn of Denmark won the most fact, the only surprising thing about money, finishing 10th in the Wright's third for Arsenal was that | rankings some £7,000 ahead of Highbury had to wait another 50 minutes for it.

have dared take such liberties. Pre-AKISTAN beat Zimbabwe by 10 Arsenal dug-out he had occupied for sumably, under Arsène Wenger, a US Open. Additionally Bjorn is spot of froufrou is in order every now and then, although Saturday's | list, and all the logical signs most pragmatic Arsenal perfor-Within 44 seconds Dixon had mance was provided by a Frenchman Patrick Vieira.

Not that Highbury will be concerning itself with such niceties for mate winner, had become just the moment. Arsenal, overnight Premiership leaders the previous | record-equalling fourth succes weekend, are now assured of top

Football results and leading positions

FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP: Arsenal 3. Leeds 0; Cheisea 3, Tottenham 1; Coventry 0, Sheffeld Wed 0, Leicester 2, Newcastle 0; Liverpool 2, Derby 1; Middlesbrough 0, Wimbledon 0: Southampton 6. Man Utd 3; Sunderland I, Aston Vila 0; West Ham 2, Blackburn 1. Leading positions: 1, Arsenal (11-24); 2. Newcasilo (11-24); 3, Liverpool (10-23).

NATIONWIDE LEAGUE: First Division: Birmingham 2, Norwich 3; Crystol Palace 3, Grimsby 0; Huddersfield 0, Port Vale 1; Ipswich 0, Tranmere 2; Man Oly 0, Wolves 1; Oldham 0, Southend 0; Reeding 2, Swindon 0; Shelfield Utd 1, 0 P R 1; Stoke 3, Portsmouth 1; W B A 0, Bradford 0, Leading positions: 1, Bolion (14-31); 2, Norwich (14-30); 3, Crystel Palace (14-24).

Colchester 2; Northampton 3, Darlington 1; Scarborough 2, Mansfeld 1; Sounthorpe 2, Rochdale 2; Torquay 2, Swanaea 0; Wigan 1 Hull 2 Leading positione: 1, Fulham (15-34); 2, Wigen (15-29); 3, Cambridge Utd (15-27).

BELL'S SCOTTIGH LEAGUE: Premier Division: Aberdeen 1, Raith 0; Dunfermine 2 Kilmamook 1; Dundee U 1, Hearts 0; Hibernian 0, Cettic 4; Rangers 5, Motherwell 0. Leading 23): 3, Aberdeen (10-18).

First Division: East File 0, Airdrie 4; Morton 0, Dundee 0; Partick 3, Felkirk 0; Stirling A 2, Clydebank 0; St Johnstone 4, St Mirren 0. Leading positions: 1, Dundee (11-21); 2, St Johnstone (11-20); 3, Airdrie (11-20).

Second Division: Ayr 1, Brechin 0; Clyde 1 Hamilton 1; Dumbarton 1, Queen South 2; Livingston 2, Stranzaer 0; Stenhousemuir 1 Berwick 1. Leading positions: 1, Ayr (11-26): 2, LMogston (11-24); 3, Hamilton (11-21).

Third Division: Alalon 4, East Stirling 3 Arbroath 0. Alloa 2; Forfar 2, Invernese 0; Monirose 0, Cowdenbeath 2; Queen's Park 0, Ross Co 3. Leading positiona: 1, Cowdenbeath (11-20); 2, Albion (11-19); 3, Alloa (11-18).

Golf Volvo Masters

McNulty courts his bonuses

David Davies at Valderrama

IN THIS the year of the sixstroke lead, the most enjoyable of the lot for the player concerned was surely that of Mark McNulty as he stood on the 18th tee here on Sunday.

He knew he could not lose the Volvo Masters, that he was bound to win not only the £150,000 first prize but also £39,000 from the bonus pool. Furthermore, he knew that an invitation to the US Masters had become rather more likely and his standing in the Sony world rankings would improve significantly.

McNulty had begun the day with a four-stroke advantage and it was not to be eroded at any time. Indeed with a birdie at the 72nd hole he increased his lead to seven, with four players grouped together on one-under - Lee Westwood, Wayne Westner, Sam Torrance and Jose Coceres

The fact that Westwood had not won meant that Robert Allenby, some 12,000 miles away in Melbourne, had retained his third place in the Volvo rankings and has an outstanding chance of going to Augusta.

The Rookie of the Year title depends on a vote, with representatives of the R & A, the European Tour and the Association of Golf Writers coming to a decision. But Thomas Padraig Harrington, with Raymond Russell down at 14th. Graham's Arsenal would hardly | All three, having finished in the top 15, will earn places in the second in the Ryder Cup points point towards him becoming the rookie for 1996.

Colin Montgomerie heads the Ryder Cup list, as he does the Volvo rankings. And, as he had become European No 1 for a sive time before this event began, he inadvertently robbed it of its traditional excitement except, of course, for McNulty, who had a suspicion that he might win even before the event started.

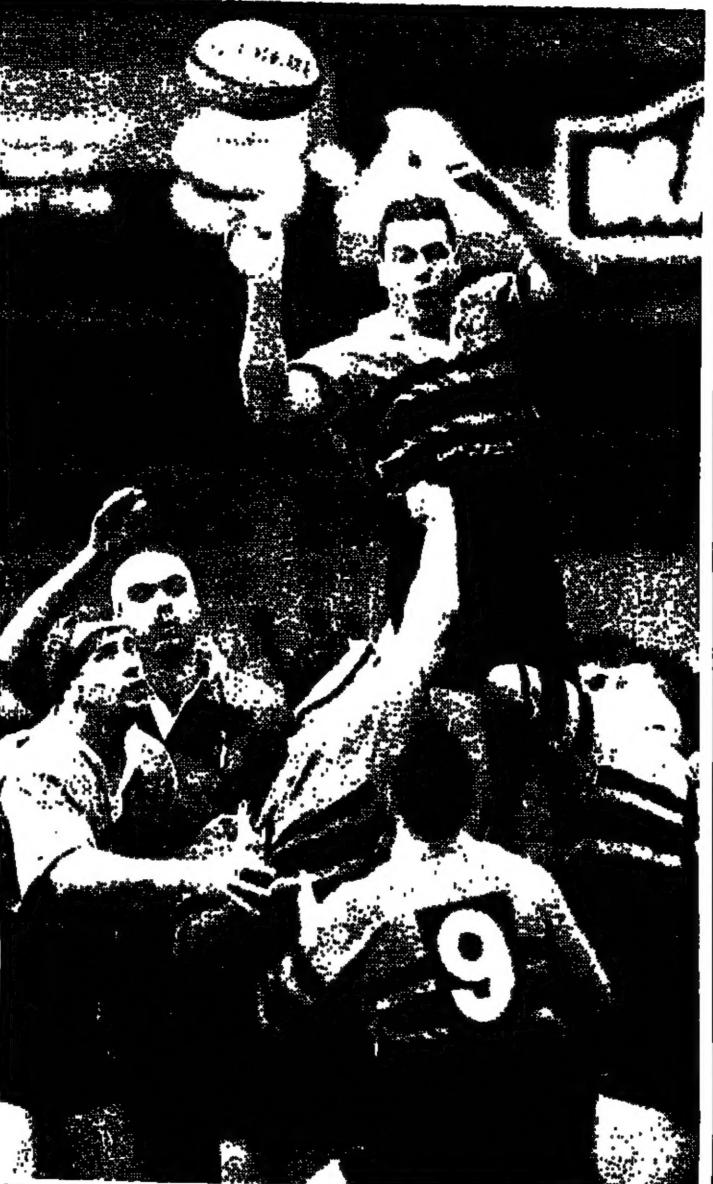
"In the nine years that I've been coming to Valderrama I've always felt I could sneak a win, and I said to my caddie at the start of the week that this was my best chance," he said.

"When you come to this place you know that there are going to be 40 to 50 of the 60 or so play ers who are moaning and crying about the course. But I love its manicured state."

Valderrama has its flaws, but the course's condition is second to none, and the Ryder Cup par ticipants next September need have no fears on that score. This is the last Volvo Masters to be held on the course, the Ryder Cup taking precedence next year. The tournament will be moved, probably to Portugal

November 3 1996





It was New Zealand's first series victory over GB since 1984 They scored three tries to two and always looked the more potent attacking force. The Lions, led superbly by Andy Farrell, lacked nothing in commitment but created only two real chances and both were taken.

But New Zealand looked dangerous every time they had the ball, particularly through their half-backs Stacey Jones and Gene Ngamu, the centres Ruben Wiki and John Timu and the towering second-row Stephen Kearney,

It was Kearney who unlocked the Lions' defence with a pass for Wiki's second try early in the second half that brought New Zealand within a point of Great Britain, and another off-load by the Auckland Warrior sent Jones racing upfield to set up the decisive score with 16 minutes re-

Jones was prevented from grounding the ball by the Lions full-back Stuart Spruce, but

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

lighflyer . . . the lock John Wakeford enjoys lift-off as Cardiff's lineout dominate the Milanese PHOTOGRAPH JEFF MORGAN

Rugby League New Zealand 18 Great Britain 15

Lions are tamed again

Andy Wilson in Palmerston North

C REAT BRITAIN lost the Test I series with this second defeat here last week but, if the margin was narrower than in the 17-12 first reverse in Auckland, this time the Lions could have no complaints.

from the resulting scrum Ngamu ran across the defence, dummicd and created a run to the line. Matthew Ridge, who missed the conversion to Wiki's second try, allowing the Lions to stay 13-12 abead, made amends from near the touchline and, although the Lions threw caution to the wind and Goulding landed a penalty, New Zealand re-

mained the more likely scorers. The Lions coach Phil Larder refused to use the farcical events of the past week as an excuse, with 11 players ordered home by the RFL chief executive Maurice Lindsay as a cost-cutting measure, insisting that it had not affected the performance of his team.

Both their tries came from inside the New Zealand half. After **26 minutes Farrell and Denis** Betts created the space for Alan Hunte to score the game's first try, as he had in Auckland. The similarities continued as Betts crashed over for the second after

some excellent handling. This time New Zealand did manage a quick reply after Hunte had lost the ball near his own line in a tackle by Tyran Smith, Timu stepping inside Powell to set up the first for Wiki, But, with Goulding converting both tries and dropping a goal, the Lions led 13-8 at the break.

Rugby Union Heineken European Cup: Cardiff 41 Milan 19

Robert Armstrong

and the second second

ARDIFF laboured for this cure a quarter-final place in near darkness at the Arms Park on Sunday. Tries by Mike Hall, Robert Howley, Justin Thomas and Mark Bennett papered over the cracks in largely by the kicker Lee Jarvis's 21 points.

their Pool D games but must wait | cello Cuttitta squeezed over. until Saturday to learn if they have a home tic against Dax, Bath or ble force in Europe - although for skulduggery off the ball. they went for nearly an hour after a bright start on Sunday without crossing the Milan line.

tory centre Hall storm through to penalty for a 23-13 half-time load. cross after seven minutes. Jarvis converted.

talised on a line-out a few metres centration undermined by their early toil, left mother defensive gap where the inside centre should have been. The giant lock Keith Stewart tapped Humphreys's throw to Howley who bustled around the tail for an opportunist score, and again Jarvis converted.

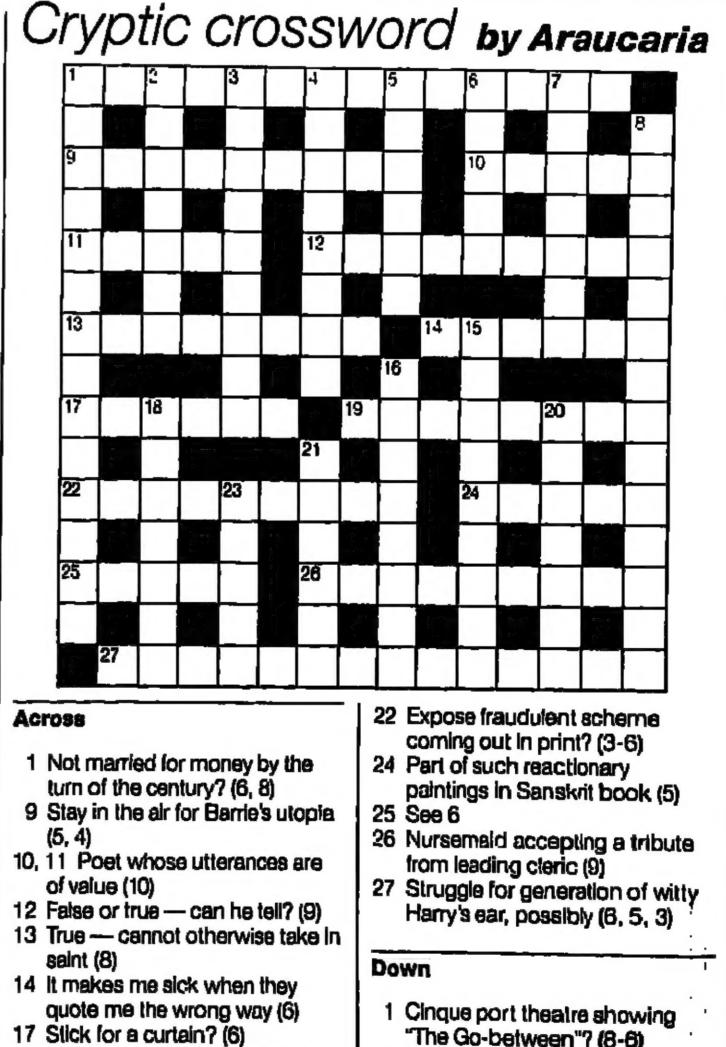
Soon the fly-half landed a 35-metre penalty which made it 17-0. Jamie Ringer was warned for a late killing off Milan before half-time.

Midway through the half Milan began to advance behind the pinpoint kicking of their Argentinewhich kept the Italians at bay tres when Cardiff fell offside at a over in the right corner. ruck. The Italians were then unlucky to be denied a try by the

A further exchange of penalties maintained the 14-point gap before and windy conditions, a succession berto Marengoni was driven over of tap penalties close to the Italian between the posts. Dominguez conthat almost inevitably saw the preda- Jarvis to land another 30-metre in Pool C.

Milan restarted with some tenacious counter-attacks, one of which Six minutes later Cardiff capi- ended with a Dominguez penalty. from the left flag when Milan, con- halfway, only to be pulled down a metre from the line before he could collect and score.

Minutes later Jarvis restored Cardiff's 10-point lead with a short penalty goal but on the hour both sets of forwards waded into the drenching conditions with acts of ney before arriving at Oxford for a thuggery that produced a flurry of 1 special diploma in social studies.



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19 Place for spectators no longer

(5, 3)

available: don't get involved



Yet Cardiff then made things need- tackle on Dominguez, then the four-try victory over a lessly hard by losing focus up front, Milan prop Franco Properzi saw yel-doughty Milan side to se- resting on their laurels instead of low after stamping on the Cardiff low after stamping on the Cardiff loose-head Andrew Lewis.

Eleven minutes from time the full-back Thomas raced away for Cardiff's overdue third try after a born fly-half Diego Dominguez, slick pass by Leigh Davies, and near a dogged Cardiff performance who slotted a penalty from 30 me- the end the flanker Bennett slid

In Pool D's other game Wasps trounced Toulouse 77-17 at Loftus The Weish club have completed French referee when the wing Mar- Road. The result against the European champions is truly remark-Soon it was Cardiff's turn, their able, coming exactly a year after replacement Ian Jones having a try | Rob Andrew left Wasps for Newcas-Pontypridd on November 16-17. De- disallowed and the home No 8 Hemi | the, taking some of the senior playspite a dull start to their domestic | Taylor given a severe finger-wag- ers with him. The victory margin season Cardiff have proved a credi- ging by Bernard Perez seemingly proves the young side has come of

In Pool A Bath beat Dax 25-16 and Benetton Treviso defeated Milan deservedly crossed in the Edinburgh 43-23. In Pool B, Lei-Cardiff adapted quickly to the wet | 40th minute when their hooker Al- | cester triumphed over Pau 19-14 while Scottish Borders lost to Leinster 25-34. Neath defeated Ulster 15line applying unrelenting pressure verted but there was still time for 13 and Brive beat Harlequins 23-10

• Ian Tucker, a 23-year-old Oxford university rugby player, died in hospital after suffering head injuries in a game on Saturday. He was Then Howley hacked on from stretchered off when an attempted try-saving tackle during the university's 33-3 defeat by Saracens went wrong. He had been tipped to win a place in the Varsity match against Cambridge on December 10. The South African-born Tucker

had graduated in economics at Syd-

rather slow moving (9) 4 Cross about resistance: it's rough work (8) 5 Contract in connection with Italian leader (6) 6, 25 Unfinished work by journalist, a blow to the area (5, 5) 7 Despicable character with tear flowing (7) 8 Productive enterprise: East German lady goes about finding large plume (7, 7) 15 Awfully frumious little name for a root of... (5, 4) 16 In the theatre it's always the cheapest section (8) 18 Tycoon's right to swindle; there's a lot of it about (7) 20 Striking cry of alarm raised at plug-hole? (7) 1 Monastic rule prescribes degree in easy subject: on your head be 23 Less than foreign articles (5) Last week's solution SAU SM M PUNGENT OPPOSED N G I N I P T ABORTS UNTAPPED UIOLEEO NUE NOLEFTTURN MEANINGLOOK REDVH WEREWOLVES ETON D R P O T R L Shandhai Radish "The Go-between"? (8-6) 2 Stew up front with reinstorm to EEYDIRI VARSITYENGAGED 3 Protector for Jewish quarter, DITE G W R

